With Compliments
P. N. Pushp
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*Editor* : **P. N. PUSHP**

Research & Publication Department
J & K GOVT., SRINAGAR
KASHMIR (INDIA)



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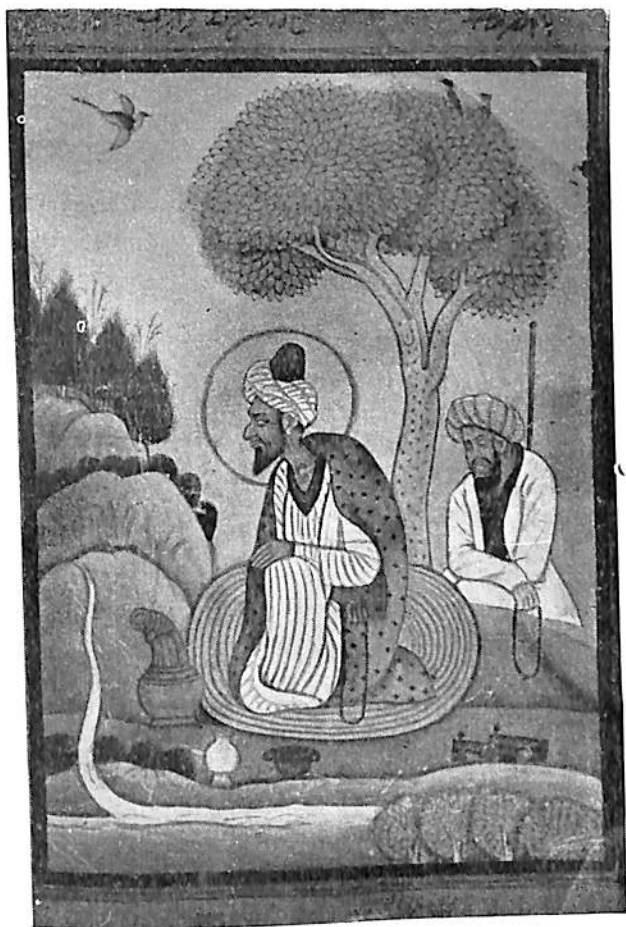
*IN THIS ISSUE*

*Views & Reviews :*



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Plate No. I



Sheikh Noor-ud-Dīn
(: Nunda' Ryo'sh)
[1377 A. D.—1438 A. D.]



*PREFATORY* :

The *Kashmir Research Biannual* is intended to be a Bulletin of the Kashmir **Research Department**, and as such it has, primarily, to offer peeps into various facets of research undertaken by the Department. But the main objective of the Department itself (: conducting researches in *Indology*) will hardly be realised in full as long as steps are not taken to encourage, foster and consolidate research work outside the Department too. It would, therefore, be advisable to organise a sort of *Research Forum* where researchers in *Indology* could meet at regular intervals as well as on special occasions to read and discuss research papers, thrash out problems and difficulties, exchange findings and experiences and, thereby, extend the frontiers of research and knowledge. The *Biannual* would, therefore, gratefully accomodate any valuable research contribution by any scholar working on any aspect of *Indology* in Kashmir. In fact, we propose devoting special columns to *Symposia* on important topics of research, and would warmly welcome authentic and significant notes, articles and dissertations accordingly. Of course, the emphasis has to

be on authenticity of documentation as well as treatment—exposition and interpretation.

So much about the *objective*. Now a word as to the general *disposition* of the *Biannual*. About a third of the contents will be reserved for *original texts* of small MSS published (wholly or partially) for the first time, with the critical apparatus and the introduction in English. The remaining two-thirds will include research articles on *literature* and *linguistics*, *historiography* and *sociology*, *religion* and *philosophy*, or *art* and *culture*, over and above the more or less running features like the following :

(a) *In search of MSS* (including *Peeps* into some of them);
(b) *New Light on Old problems* (: Brief Research *Notes*);
(c) *Question, Comment, and Conjecture* (: Research correspondence) ;
(d) *Views and Reviews* (On Research Publications);
(e) *Art and Archaeology* ;
(f) *Research Symposia* ;
(g) *Select Reading References* ; and
(h) *Illustrative Plates.*

And, now, the *Biannual* must speak itself !

— (Ed.)

# REQUISITES OF KASHMIROLOGY

Kashmir's contribution to the heritage of India has been distinct enough to permit the use of a new term, *Kashmirology*, as an important branch of *Indology*. Its importance is manifold in terms of myth and legend, custom and tradition, religion and philosophy, language and literature, art and archaeology, and socio-economic as well as political developments in this integral part of India.

But very little of this contribution has so far been adequately explored and assessed, and systematically presented in spite of the pioneering work[1] done in many a field such as historiography, folk-lore philosophy and linguistics.

The first significant effort to survey, secure and preserve MSS was made in 1860-65 at the instance of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who unfortunately did not live long enough to see the important works published along with translation as planned. Later on,when the State Research Department was set up in 1902 the publication of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* was contemplated and more than six dozen works have appeared since. A remarkable record, no doubt, though very few of these publications meet the demands of critical and scientific editing as understood now. What one misses most in a majority of these is a thorough word-index and a revealing introduction

1. Cf. P. 8

and perhaps, critical or elucidatory notes wherever unavoidable.

Every effort has, therefore, to be made now not only to overcome shortcomings like these, but also to establish *Kashmirology* on foundations securer and more broad-based, by integrating the isolated bits of earlier research into a comprehensive whole. The emphasis, so far, has been on mere publication of MSS (mostly of religio-philosophical content), and, even the basic tasks like compilation of descriptive catalogues of MSS have all along been lying over for one reason or the other. It is high time, therefore, that these research problems are viewed in a more correlated perspective.

The problem of problems, obviously, continues to be that of salvaging rare MSS and compiling not only **Descriptive Catalogues** of the collections made (including those of art - pieces and other research material) but also **Source-material Miscellanies** on various aspects of *Kashmirology* so as to facilitate researches therein[2].

The problem of compiling a **Bibliography of Source-material** is no less urgent, but it presupposes a thorough ( : both intensive and extensive) survey of all the source-material lying scattered in private collections as well as in the MS libraries of India and the

2. Accordingly, the Department is at present working on the following, scheduled to appear in 1960-61 :

**Catalogue** : Vol. 1 (*Historiography*) ; and

**Miscellany** : Vol. 1 (*Zainul-a'bidin and His Times*)

world. Yet a humble beginning[3] has to be made with the material noticed so far or accessible with a little effort.

Parallel to this basic task of compilation runs that of bringing out critical editions of important works defectively published or lying unpublished. In this connection it is gratifying to know that the V. V. Research Institute of Hoshiarpur has undertaken to bring out a revised edition of *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* and critical editions of the later chronicles by **Jonaraja, Srivara** and **Suka.** That is surely going to fulfil a longfelt need, but equally pressing is the need of collating these chronicles with their Persian counter - parts (: versions or adaptations). Such an endeavour would light up many a dark corner and fill up many a gap in the History of Kashmir. The compilation of a *Concordance* and a *Variorum* in this connection would also prove of immense help in reconstructing quite a few lost fragments of aur historical narrative as well as in checking up, reconsidering and revising many inaccuracies undetected so far.

Archaeology could have helped a great deal in this endeavour, but unfortunately it has yet to play its full role in digging up the very early layers of Kashmir's historical evolution. The crest of the earth has, no

3. With this idea in view a comprehensive survey of MSS lying undetected or unutilized in the various regions of the State is under consideration by the Department which proposes to bring out a Literary History of Kashmir in three Vols during 1960-63.)

doubt, been scratched at a number of places; but very little digging of the right type has so far taken place except, perhaps, at a site or two. Research scholars would, therefore, feel grateful for any future programme of scientific excavation in Kashmir (including the far flung regions which have yet to feature in a historical account of the state). Meanwhile, a new hand - book on Archaeology in Kashmir with copious illustrations is a pressing need.

The task of bringing out an **Encyclopaedia** *of Kashmirology* is no less important, but to realize this objective, a few more preliminary and, therefore, urgent steps are inevitable. Thus, for instance, uptodate and authentic *surveys* of the various aspects of this heritage have to be made and published with exhaustive *indexes*. Besides, not only a **Biographical Dictionary** of the distinguished sons and daughters of Kashmir, such as scholars, writers and thinkers, but also volumes like a **Dictionary of Saivism and Sufism** have to be compiled. Such a work long overdue, is likely to promote a study of the religio-philosophical history of the land.

A new linguistic survey of the state would, no doubt, be covered by the forthcoming linguistic survey of India, in the near future, but that would hardly justify any delay in the preparation of **scientific grammars** and **linguistic introductions** to the mother-tongues spoken in the state; much less in the task of exploring, collecting, and compiling the *folklore*

of the land. Unless these programmes are undertaken, no scientific study of the folk-traditions and the folk-patterns is possible. The preparation of specific *vocabularies* peculiar to different callings and vocations and spheres of activity has also to be taken up and carried on side by side. That will, incidentally help in collecting genuine source-material for the compilation of authentic dictionaries of the various mother-tongues spoken in the state, including a *Thesauras* and integrated *multilingual vocabularies* of all these tongues with English, Hindi and Urdu parallels. The indispensability of this source-material can hardly be overemphasized; for, a dictionary is not merely an alphabetical list of coinages or terminologies, but has to derive sanction from some sort of *diction* whether preserved in the written treasures or alive in the oral tradition. The programme therefore, calls for the constitution of a **Folklore Squad** of half a dozen competant young scholars trained in the technique of exploration as well as scientific notation of folklore material and equipped with a tape-recorder for the purpose. The material thus collected, would prepare the ground for *anthropological studies* also and provide a correct perspective for researches in the cultural evolution of Kashmir.

These, in brief, are the requisites of *Kashmirology* which have to be minded by all workers in the field.

—*(PNP)*

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## *MIR ILĀHI (973–1063 A.H )*

(N. L. Koul, 'Tālib')

Mīr Ilāhī whose name is given as Imād-ud Dīn Mahmūd Husainī by Dr. Sufi, was a descendant of the Sayyids of Iran. His ancestors belonged to Asadābād, Hamadān. Pīr Ghulām Mahi-ud Dīn Qādrī Sulaimānī, a resident of Mahalla Zaina Kadal, Srinagar, who traces his descent to the poet and has written a booklet entitled "Zikr-us Sālihiñ" [1]giving a detailed account of the poet says that Mīr Ilāhi was descended from the line of Hazrat Ali Murtaza. According to this writer Mīr Ilāhī's original name was Sayyid Abu Sulaimān Nasir-ud Dīn Mīr Ilāhī and that of his father Sayyid Abu Ubaid Ullah Qādrī, who was a great scholar and had migrated to India during the rign of Akbar. Here he busied himself in spreading spiritual knowledge and in 1000 A.H., wrote a book entitled "Sahāif-ul M'ārifa" which deals with spiritual topics and also contains an account of his ancestors. He passed away at Akbarabad in 1011 A. H.

Mīr Ilāhī was born in 973 A. H. He lived at Isfahān for a number of years under Shāh Abbās I, in frequent intercourse with the poet Hakim Shifāi Sharaf-ud Dīn Husain and Aqa Razi. According to Khwaja Mohammad 'Āzam, the historian, he was a pupil of the latter. He came to India during the reign of Jahangir when he had already made a name as a poet and received munificient rewards from the emperor. When the latter visited Kashmir in 1036 A. H. he asked the poet to accompany him here. On his return from Kashmir Jahangir took him along with himself. The poet

1. Published, Karimi Press, Lahore, 1350 A. H.

could not help accompanying him though he did not like the idea of leaving this beautiful Valley. Later when Zafar Khān was appointed Governor of Kashmir for the second time by Shāh Jahān in 1053 A. H. and asked to furnish a surety for a just and benevolent rule in Kashmir, Mīr Ilāhi, who was present there, exclaimed extempore:

Khudā Zāmin Rasūl-o cāryārash !

"God is (his) surety as well as the prophet and his four Companions."

The King was delighted at this and allowed the Khān to ptoceed to Kashmir. The Khan who was enamoured of the poet, however, secured the King's permission to take him along with himielf.

Mīr Ilāhi was a poet of a very high order. Mulla Tughra in his "Tazkirat-ul Atqiya" speaks very highly of his *qasidās* and *ghazals* and other forms of verse. Mīr Ghulām Ali Azād the author of "Ma'Sir-ul Kiram" likewise admits that his verses are sweet and full of charm. Nawāb Sayyid Sadiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal in his Memoirs of poets entitled ' Shama-i-Anjuman" alse praises the quality of his poems.

The poet more or less passed twenty years of his life in Kashmir and died in 1063 A. H. He was buried in the graveyard of Hazrat Sheikh Bahā-ud Din Ganj Baḳhsh.

Apart from his Dīwān comprising 5000 verses in the form of *ghazals*, *qasidas*, and fragments etc. he is credited with a Tazkira (Memoir of poets).

Ākhund Mullā Shāh, a reputed Sūfī of Badakhshān (who also settled in Kashmir later) is said to have composed the following verse which was recorded in letters of gold:-

Pādshāhī rā guzār-o doost-āgāhī guzīṅ
Cūṅ ba āgāhī rasīdī har ceh mīḳhwāhī guzīṅ

"Give thou up sovereignty and seek God-realisation.
When thou hast realised Him, thou mayst seek whatsoever thou desirest".

When this verse came to the notice of Mīr Ilāhi, he added the following improvisation below the above:-

Man namî goyam gadāyī yā shahanshāhī guzīṅ
Ḳhwīsh rā bigūzīṅ wa dīgār har ceh mīḳhwahī guzīṅ

"I do not say that thou shouldst seek sovereignty or mendicancy,
Seek thou self-realisation and then seek whatever thou likest."

The Mulla could not but acknowledge the superiority of Mir's idea. Here are a few specimens of the poets' verse as quoted by several writers :-

Cunāṅ arzāṅ matā-e zindagī rā mī diham azkaf
Ki goyā kārawān-e umr mī āyad zipas mārā

"I am parting with the commodity of life at such a cheap rate,
As if a caravan of life is following at my heels."

Sūda mī gardad zabāṅ dar wasf-i zulfat shāna rā
matla-e ḳhurshīd mī sāzad ruḳhat kāshāna rā

nīm jū hāsil na shud kām az falak kāṅ taṅg cashm
khosha sāṅ dar kīsa pinhāṅ mī kunad har dāna rā

"The tongue of the comb wears away in praise of thy tresses.
Thy face turns the balcony into the rising place of the sun.
My object has not been achieved from the heaven in the smallest degree, for this covetous one,
Conceals every grain in its pocket in the manner of an ear (of corn)."

Dil ḵhud ba rūzgār-i jawānī kabāb būd
mū-e safed shud namake bar kabāb-i mā

"The heart by itself was a-roast during the period of youth,
Thy grey hair has served the purpose of salt to it."

Cashmat az har gardishe bā yār ahde tāza bast
khat-i mushkīnat kitāb-i husn rā shīrāza bast

"By each movement have thy eyes entered into a covenant with the friend.
Thy musky down has bound the volume of beauty."

Rukhsār-i tu āb dar'rukh-i gul naguzāsht
zulf-i tu shikan ba jad-i sambul naguzāsht
tā hamcu bahār az gulsitāṅ raftī
gul naubat-i faryād ba bulbul naguzāsht

Thy cheeks deprived the rose of its colour
(And)thy tresses the curls of hyacinth of their folds,
Since thou left the garden like the spring
The rose did not leave it to the nightingale to raise a cry."

Rūy darham mī kashad az rū e mā āina ham
cīni pīshāni-st goyā āya-e dar shān-i mā

'.Even the mirror frowns at our face,
The wrinkle over the forehead, it seems, is (the revelation of) a Quranic verse in our case."

Az dūri-at ai tāza gul-e bāgh-e murād
cūṅ ghuñca-e cīdah ḳhandah-am rafta ziyād
giryāṅ cu pyalaa-e puram dar kaf-i mast
nālāṅ cu subū-e khālī-am dar rah-i bād

'O fresh rose of my disire-garden! due to thy separation
Laughter has been plucked from my memory like a bud.

I am shedding tears like a cup brimming over in a tippler's hand
[And] lamenting like an empty jar [rattling] in the path of wind."

Ya ilāhī ze ilāhi tu ceh pursi dar hashar
ānceh o kard tu dīdī wa ceh guftan dārad

' O God ! what dost thou enquire from Ilāhi on the Judgment Day ?

Whatever he has done thou hast seen, what else is to be said now ?"

Zamāna baski marā ḳhāksār-i mardum kard
ze āb-i dīda-e man mī tawāṅ tayammum kard

"Time has made me the most dusty (: humblest) of all people;
Ablutions could be performed with my tears."

Du ālam garceh bar rūe nigār-i mā hijāb āyad
Ze paidāe jamālash dar nazar pīsh az naqāb āyad

'Although the two worlds conceal the face of our sweatheart,

It comes to view before her veil as soon as her beauty appears."

Aib-o hunar majūe ilāhī ze kufr-o dīn
'āshiq ba millat-i ḳhud-o 'ārif badīn-i ḳhwīsh

"O Ilahi ! seek not virtue and vice in faith and infidelity,
A lover has his own creed and agnostic his own faith,'

Āgah az ishq na būdam ke cisaṅ mībāshad
be ḳhabar kard cunānam ke ḳhabardar shudam

" I did not know in what manner love worked (but);
It made me self-oblivious in such a way that I became conscious of it."

Shab-i hijraṅ ze bas labriz-e kulfat gashta am rezad
Cu gard az dāman-i mizhgān nigāh-e hairatālūdam

"During the night of separation I was distressed to such an extreme
That my bewildered look was cast from the skirt of eyelashes just as dust is shed."

Ze bas tarāwat-i rūesh na mī tawāṅ dānist
ke shabnamast ba gul yā girah ba pīshānī

"Due to the extreme freshness of her face one cannot make out
Whether it is a dew-drop on the rose or a wrinkle on her forehead."

*New Light on Old Problems* :-

## *THE ḌĀMARAS OF KASHMIR*

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The term *Ḍāmara* is of common occurence in the *Rājataranginī* and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties—A.D. 1003-1171.

"The word *Ḍā*mara" states Stein, "in the sense in which it is used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the later chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir".[1]

The authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, "riotous", "rebel"[2] . "The true purport of the term", adds Stein, "was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which produces a suggestion of Prof. H. Kern assigning to *Ḍāmara* the meaning *Bojār*, *i. e.* feudal landowner or baron".[3]

(1) *Rājataraṅginī* tr. Stein Vol. II. p 304.

(2) *Petersburg Wortherbuch.* Vol. III. p. 185. Rājat. Vol. II. P.

(3) Stein; Rājat. Vol. II. p. 304. of P.W. VII. 1747 of Culavainśa lxxiv. 22-43. Ḍāmarikatta is used for acts of violence.

There is no denying the fact that the *Ḍāmaras* were really landowners, but we have doubts about the possible meaning "riotous" or "rebel", assigned to the word *Ḍāmara* in this particular case. Taking the word as etymologically connected with the root *Dam* "to sound as a drum", as suggested by the St. Petersburg we can say that it might have originally been given to one of the indigenous tribes because of the boorishness and the riotous nature of these hilly people, and from that it may have been adopted to signify all such people in the land.

The word *Ḍāmara* is found also in Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*[1] where it is mentioned as one of the sixty-four tantras ( a class of works teaching mystical formulae )[2]. It is curious to note the same word being applied to a ritualistic text and to a class of people.

(1) Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka* I, 42-43. Jayaratha provides the list of sixty-four monistic Tantras on the authority of the Śrīkanṭhī, a Śaiva work. (Quoted by Pandey, Abhinavagupta, p. 80).

(2) *Monier Williams*; p. 436, Col. I

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat Samhitā* mentions *Ḍāmara* in the list of the countries of the North Eastern region along with :[1].

Meruka, *Naṣtarājya, Paśupāla, Kīra, Kaśmīra, Abhiśārada, Tangaṇa, Kulūta, Saicindha Rāṣṭra, Brahmapura, Dārva, Ḍāmara, Vanarājya, Kirāta, Cīna, Kaṇṇinda, Bhalla, Palola, Jaṭāsura, Kanaṭha, Khaṣa. Ghoṣa, Kucika, Ekacaraṇa Anuviśva, Svarṇabhūmi, Arnasuddhana, Nandaviṣṭha, Paurava, Cīra-nivāsana, Trinetra, Puñjādri and Gandharva.*

In this list we have names of people like *Paśupāla* and *Trinetra*, which are epithets of the God *Śiva*. *Ḍāmara*, as already stated above, is the name of a tantra in *Śaivite* Tantric religion and *Ḍāmara* is also the name of one of the attendants of *Śiva*.

In Kashmir we find many references to people named after their tribal epithets, such as *Lavanya*[2], *Balahara*[3], *Tantrin*[4], and the like.

(1) *Bṛhat Samhitā*; Ch. XIV.Verses 29-30.

(2) *Lavanya* : a tribal group corresponding to *Lūn* (now **Lon**) *Krām*. See Stein tr. VIII. 2767 note. *Rājat*, VII. 1171, 1229, 1230, 1233, 1233, 1237, 1238 VIII, 747, 776, 910, 956, 1010, 1032, 1268, 2538, 3447, Also see Stein *Rājat*. tr. Vol. II. p 523.

(3) *Rājat*. VIII. 2695, 2768.

(4) *Rājat*. V. 248-50, 255, 260, 265-66 274-75, 287, 289, 293-95, 302, 328,331, 338-40, 421, 431, VI. 132; VII 1531, VIII. 292, 303, 375, 510. 597 928.

Tracing these words to Sanskrit roots does not always help with the identification of the people to whom they refer. They may well be based on words in no way connected with Classical Sanskrit. Some of the names of Varāhamihira's list occur in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. We come across *Dārvā-bhisār*–a clear reference to *Dārva* and *Abhisāra* as a joint name, and it has been identified by Stein with the lower hills between Jhelum and Chinab.

Stein refers to *Kīra*, appearing in the ethnographic list of *Varāhamihira*'s *Bṛhatsamhitā* (XIV, 29), as the name of a race located in the North-East along with *Kaśhmīras*, *Abhisāra* and *Dārads*[2]. In the Chamba copper-plate grant of *Āṣata*, the *Kīras* are named between the Durgaras, (Dogras) and Trigartas (:Kangra).[3]

Excluding, of course, the purely legendary names, Stein recognises the *Abhisāras*, *Dārads*. *Dārvas*, *Khaśas*, *Kīras* and even the distant *Kulūtas* and *Kauṇindas* or *Kaulindras* "as the names of the tribes which undoubtedly must

(1) *Rājat*. VIII. 1531, Stein *Rājat*. tr. Vol. I. Book. I 180, note.

(2) Stein, *Rājat*. tr. VIII. 2767, note.

(3) *Ind. Ant*. XVII. p. 9

be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir".[1] As we have such people inhabiting the North-Eastern division of India according to *Varāhamihira's* classification, and as some of them have been identified by Stein, we can take *Ḍāmara* as one of them. Moreover, the *Bṛhaṭ-Samhitā* was written much earlier than the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is, however, curious that the *Ḍāmara* in this ethnographical list missed Stein's notice, though he mentions the *Kīras* and others, who appear in the same verse, and takes them even as tribes. Perhaps taking the word etymologically and being quite convinced of its connection with "riot" or "strife", rather than of its being a tribal name, he did not notice it.

As already mentioned we have other examples of the use of tribal names in Kashmir[2] to designate special sections of the people. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find the *Tantrins* referred to as a body of foot-soldiers; these probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic

(1) Stein; *Rājat* tr. Vol. II, p. 365, note.

(2) Supra. p. 3.

affinities, but their original appellation was assimilated to the Sanskrit word "tantra".

*Kalhaṇa*, while describing King *Lalitādityā's* injunctions on state policy, specifically[1] mentions the hill people first, and then he speaks of not allowing the villagers to have more food than is required for one year's consumption; otherwise, they would become terrible *Ḍāmaras*. It is, perhaps, from this verse that Wilson concluded that the *Ḍāmaras* were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir.

Could it possibly be that the hill people referred to by *Lalitāditya* are the orginal *Ḍāmaras* whose specific characteristics might have given their name to the turbulent section of Kashmir society ?

We have references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* wherein *Ḍāmara* and *Lavanya* are indiscriminately used for separate groups of people or for one and the same person[2]. *Kalhaṇa* gives us no evidence to show what the term *Lavanya* originally meant or how it came to be applied. As shown by Stein it is a tribal name still surviving

(1) *Rājat*. IV, 347-48.

(2) *Rājat*. VIII, 48, 747, 780, 1032 & 1033, 1124 & 1127, 1992 & 1993, 2009 & 2012, 2337 & 2338.

to this day in the *Krām* name *Lūn*, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir[1]. "From the way in which", he adds, "*Kalhaṇa* employs the name in the passages referred to, and from various others in which *Lavanyas* are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of *Ḍāmaras* was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for[2]."

Basing his view on the geographical distribution of the *Ḍāmaras* in the whole of the valley of Kashmir and the mention of the epithet *Lavanya* for the first time in the reign of *Harṣa*, B. P. Mazumder suggests that the *Ḍāmara* did not belong to a particular tribe.[3] He adds: "Some *Dāmaras* have been called Lavanyas and from this Wilson concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the north of Kashmir[4]." It was from the passage referring to king *Lalitāditya's* injunctions to his ministers that Wilson concluded the above and not from the fact of *Ḍāmaras* being termed

(1) Stein; *Rājat* tr. Vol. II p. 306.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) B. P. Mazumdar; Indian History Congress
(4) Mazumdar quotes Wilson's Essay on the Hind History of Cashmir *As. Res.* Vol. XV. pp. 51-70.

as *Lavanyas*[1]. As it is seen from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and as B. P. Mazumdar has himself stated, the term *Lavanya* occurs for the first time in the reign of king *Harṣa*[2]; while king *Lalitāditya's* time is much earlier. From Stein's note[3] that Kalhaṇa, in making king *Lalitāditya* set forth the principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times, one may be led to believe with him that the reference to the *Ḍāmara* at this early date is due to Kalhaṇa's imagination working into earlier times. We have, however, clear evidence in the cases of the minister *Śūra* and king Cakravarman that much earlier than *Kalhaṇa's* own time *Ḍāmaras* had become quite powerful and were a terror to the rest of the population. As shown by Stein himself, we find characteristic indication of their growing influence during the period of comparative consolidation which followed Yaśaskara's[4] accession (939-48) and queen Diddā's advent to power[5]. Both under Unmattāvanti (937-39) and Diddā (980/1-1003) special mention is made of the success of the royal

(1) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol II. p. 304.
(2) *Rājat.* VII. 1171.
(3) Stein; *Rājat.* IV 348. note
(4) *Rājat.* V. 48, 405, ff.
(5) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol. II. p. 305.

commanders-in-chief in coersive measures against the *Ḍāmaras.*[1]

As regards their original home Mazumdar suggests that "the Lavanyas had come from the Lavana Parvata, which is contiguous (sic) to Kashmir. *Pṛthvīhara* and his son *Koṣṭheśvara* have been referred to as *Lavanyas* and *Ḍāmaras* *Trillaka* as *Ḍāmara* and a *Lavanya*, was a relative of *Koṣṭheśvara.* It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana Parvata and settled in Kashmir."[2] Mazumdar seems to have misunderstood the word *Krām*, (originally meaning family appellation) when he wrongly quotes Stein, saying "Stein thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people inhabiting the Kram named Lun." As already quoted, what Stein actually says is "Lavanaya is a tribal name still surviving in this day in the *Kram* name *Lūn*, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir[3].

It is from this misunderstanding of the

(1) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol. II. p. 305. see *Rajat.* V. 447, VI. 353.

(2) B.P. Mazumdar; *Indian History Congress* 1946. p. 195.

(3) See Supra. p. 5.

words *Krām* and *Lūn* that Mazumdar has suggested their original habitat as Lavana Parvata. We do not understand what specific area he means to suggest; whether he is thinking of the salt Range of the Punjab hills or any other place. We have, however, Lavaṇotsa said to be a town founded by prince Baka of Mihirakula's race[1].

Stein could not find the position of Lavaṇotsa, though the place is several times mentioned by Kalhaṇa. From a certain passage[2], Stein understands that *Srīnagra* could be reached by a single forced march from Lavaṇotsa and that Padmapura (modern Pampur), lay on the route. He cites other references which suggest that Lavaṇotsa was situated near one of the high roads leading to *Śrīnagra* from aboard. This area is nowhere near the Punjab Salt Range.

In wilson's Glossary of Indian terms, the word "Lavana" is stated to mean 'Reaping' and

(1) Stein; *Rājat.* tr. I. 39 note:

(2) Stein; *Rājat.* tr. VII. 762 ff.

(3) Wilson; *Glossary of Judicial & Revenue Terms.* p. 310.

(4) M. Williams; p. 898. Obviously follows Stein.

from that in Hindi the term *Lavani* or *Launi* as wages in kind to reapers at harvest time, also 'reaping', 'cultivating'. Monier Williams takes '*Lavana*' from the root *Lu*, to cut or reap as meaning one who reaps and *Lavanya* as the name of a particular tribe in the *Rājataraṅginī*. The name of *Lavanya* may signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the *Lavanyas* or *Ḍāmaras*.

In Kashmir even at present we find that the Pandits are broken up into numerous gotras, and each gotra has many *Krāms*, or tribal sub-divisions. The *Krām* name is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the sub-division[1]. As suggested by Stein "the Lavanyas must have formed an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern *Krām* name of frequent occurence viz. Lun[2]." He further adds that though the passages referring to them do not tell us anything of their origin, they show that many of them must have held a position of influence as landowners or tribal headmen[3].

(1) Lawrence; *Valley*. 304.
(2) Stein; *Rājat*. tr. VII. 1171. note.
(3) *Ibid*

Their tribal name thus seems to have originated from their being landowners. Luns are found throughout the valley and according to villagers' statement recorded by Lawrence they are said to have come from Cilas[1]. Stein, however, could not trace any such tradition and suggested that the mass of the *Ḍāmaras* was recruited from the *Lavanya* tribal section and, therefore, the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations became common[2].

We have already noted that the name *Lavanya* came to be used for the first time during the reign of king Harsa and these people figure prominently in the reigns of succeeding kings. If the mass of *Ḍāmaras* had been recruited from this tribal section, it would not have been mentioned so late. On the other hand, we believe that the *Lavanya* must have formed a tribal sub-section, and being an influential section of the agricultural population must have been classed with the *Ḍāmara* tribe, and hence the indiscriminate use of the epithets *Lavanyas* and *Ḍāmaras* for the same people. Moreover, if we believe

(1) Lawrence; *Valley* p. 306.
(2) Supra. p. 7

with Stein that *Lavanya* was a tribal name, we are compelled to believe even more strongly that *Ḍāmara* started as a tribal rather than as a class name. For, if the name *Lavanya*, originally tribal, could be applied indiscriminately to the *Ḍāmaras*, *Ḍāmara* might equally well be taken originally as a tribal name later assigned to all those who aquired a certain position by means of agricultural revenue and trade.

Thus from the above references to tribal names we can safely assume that the word *Ḍāmara* started as the name of a people and from the special characteristics of this people it was later applied to all those people who attained a certain position in society. In other words, beginning as a tribal name it became later used as a class name, as is shown by the fact that *Lavanyas* are sometimes termed *Ḍāmaras.* Moreover, in Kashmir to-day we have *Lons* (*Lavanyas*) *and Ḍārs* (*Ḍāmaras*) as two separate castes [1].

The whole of the history of medieval Kashmir in full of the struggle of the monarchy against this section of society, which not only endangered the very existence of the ruling dynasty, but also became a terror to the rest of

(1) Fauq : Tārīḳh-i-Aqwām-i- Kashmīr; pp 280 ff.

the population. The *Ḍāmaras* appear to have been rather like the *Bataka* [1] or heads of the iddigene class of Buganda, who exercised their authority by immemorial right. At first they do not appear to have been very strong, but later, under weak rulers, we find them very powerful and they emerge into a position of great importance by the time of the Lohara dynasties. The whole of the strife during the times of the Lohara dynasties may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the kings to superimpose a system of political authority on tribal custom and of the *Ḍāmaras* trying to assert their authority and attain offices of state, especially when they had made themselves economically secure.

A question, here, of great importance is how far the *Ḍāmara* was a "*bojār*" - feudal landowner or baron [2]. The service of both the *Sāmantas* and the *Ḍāmaras* was based on land tenure. The *Sāmantas* and the *Ḍāmaras* or *Lavanyas*, though parts of the general feudal order, are mentioned as two separate entities in

(1) Meek: *Land, Law & Custom in the Colonies, p. 132.*
(2) Hutchison & Vogel: *History of the Punjāb Hill States*; Vol. 1. p. 17.

the *Rājataraṅginī* [1]. Kalhaṇa generally mentions the *Sāmantas* favourably [2], while as regards the *Ḍāmaras*, he is full of scorn and hatred [3]. In view of the anarchic conditions when the *Ḍāmaras* were constantly encouraging claimants to the throne or rising in revolt themselves, it was natural for Kalhaṇa to have cherished bitter feelings against these local lords. The struggle does not appear to have been waged between the monarchy and the feudal organisation as a whole, but between the kings and the *Ḍāmaras*; for the *Sāmantas* are regularly found to be fighting on the side of kings against the *Ḍāmaras*. Kalhaṇa, surprisingly, gives no instance of a rebel *Sāmanta*.

In the earlier books of the *Rājataraṇgiṇī* the *Ḍāmaras* are only once mentioned as *Sāmantas*, [4] which shows that occasionally a *Ḍāmara* loyal to the king might be incorporated into the regular feudal order established under his leadership. On the other hand, we have many references [5] where *Sāmantas* and *Ḍāmaras* are mentioned as separate classes. In a cer-

(1) *Rājat.* cf. VIII. 1072-1073,909-910.

(2) *Rājat.* V 405,406;

(3) *Rājat.* VIII. 7.

(4) *Rājat.* V. 395

(5) *Rājat* V. 446-447, V. 451-454; VIII 1078.

tain verse Kalhaṇa specifically uses the word '*Ḍāmarakula*', "*Ḍāmara* tribe", to differentiate one part of the army from the regular Kashmirian soldiers from various feudatory families [1]. If the *Ḍāmaras* had formed a part of the regular feudal organisation there would have been no necessity of mentioning them separately. Moreover they would have been liable to all the obligations and eligible for all the privileges of the *Sāmantas*.

In the above quoted reference Kalhaṇa even seems to distinguish between *Ḍāmaras* and *Kashmirians*, as though he scornfully rejects their rights to be looked up on as authentic members of the Community [2]. Could it be due to their descent from a tribal section of Kashmir society ?

As regards the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence was acquired and held, Stein suggested that "a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system [3]".

(1) *Rājat*. VIII. 1078.

(2) *Rājat*. VIII. 887, 1078.

Kalhaṇa mentions a coalition of Kashmirian, Khaśa and Mleccha forces sent by Bhikṣācara against king Sussala at Lohara. The distinction is made in the same way as Kalhaṇa does in the above quoted verse between *Ḍāmaras* and Kashmirians.

(3) Stein; *Rājat*. tr. Vol. II.p. 307.

He made this suggestion on comparing the conditions prevailing in other parts of India and in the absence of any exact data, he took it as a mere conjecture .

In an earlier instance king Cakravarman (935), after losing his throne, came to the house of the *Ḍāmara Saṃgrāma* and asked for his help to get it back [1]. The *Ḍāmara* made him promise to look upon all of his class at all times in kindness. Thereafter they entered into a solemn pact by placing their feet on a sheep-skin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation, sword in hand [2]. It was only after this agreement had been made that king Cakravarman was able to collect a numberless host of *Ḍāmaras* to help him. From this particular case it appears that if there had been any definite system of land-tenure based on relations of mutual protection and military service between the king and the *Ḍāmara*, there whould not have been any neccessity of the two parties entering into such an agreement at this time. Nor is the king anywhere described as reminding the *Ḍāmaras* of their sworn duty

(1) *Rājat* V. 306.
(2) *Ibid;* 326.

towards him. After having regained the throne with their help we find him again forgetting his promise and persecuting them [1]. The fact that king Cakravarman was no longer the ruling severeign at the time strengthens our point that *Samgrāma* was free to enter into agreement with anyone, whether he was on the throne or not, for if this were not so, his allegiance would have been transferred to the new king, the moment Cakravarman was dethroned.

We do not find even a single reference in the whole of the chronicle, which could throw light on the relations between the *Ḍāmaras* and their numerous troops. But *Samgrāma's* condition to the king Cakravarman, "if you promise to look upon us all in kindness I march before you with troops on the morrow", shows that some sort of service-tenure must have existed between the *Ḍāmaras* and their followers, who would march at their lord's command. The *Ḍāmara* troops apparently did not have any direct relations with the king, and it was only after the agreement that they followed their chief to help him.

(1) Ibid; 405.

There is no mention of any quarrel between the *Ḍāmaras* leaders and their followers or any rising of the latter. Whether they could not raise their heads for fear of oppression of the leaders or they were kindly treated by them, we cannot say with precision. *Kalhaṇa's* silence in this respect suggests that the relations between the powerful *Ḍāmaras* and their followers, who may have been the actual tillers of the soil, must have been quite good. In one [1]. reference it is stated that king *Salhaṇa* (1111-12) persuaded Gargacandra, the all-powerful *Lavanya* minister of his time to give his daughter to him in marriage, but Gargacandra's followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a more ghost.

In making a comparison of the features of the *Rājput* society with those of the Middle Ages in Europe, as drawn by Hallow, Tod wrote, "The leading features of Government amongst the semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce analogies which are observed to regulate Tartar hordes or German-

(1) *Rājat;* VIII. 441.

tribles, Caledonian clans, the Rajput Kula (race) or Jharaja Bhayyad (brotherhood) [1] ". To this we may add the *Ḍāmara* kula.

This system of *Sāmantas* and *Ḍāmaras* compares with the two classes of *Rājput* landlords in mewar. On is the Girasia *Thakkur* or lord, the other the *Bhumia*. The *Girasīa* chieftain is he who holds '*Giras*' by grant (*Paṭṭa*) of the Prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse when all the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief and the investiture take place [2]. The *Bhumia* does not renew his grant, but holds it on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. As for the *Sāmantas* or feudal lords of the *Rājataranginī*, we believe that they must have held lands of

(1) Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan; Vol. I. p 154
Knowing that Bhumia terures "appeared in the parts of Mewar settled since reonolest antiquity where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a fosting; as in kumbhalmer, the wild of chappan or plains of Mandalgarh, long under the kings, where their agricultural pursuits maintained them". We are reminded of king Lalitāditya's in junctions to his ministers regarding treatment towards people in the hills. Tod Annals Vol. 1 pp 166, 196.

(2) Ibdi.

the king but regarding the stipulation of specified quotas at home and abroad, renewals on lapse involving the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief, and the investiture we have no evidence whatsoever in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or any of the other sources concerned with the period.

That the *Ḍāmaras* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may be compared with the *Bhumia* of Tod's *Annals of Rājasthan* is evident from the story of a *Ḍāmara* Lakkanacandra [1], who held the castle of *Dugdhaghāṭa* (modern Dudakhut pass) which guarded the old route to the Darada country. He had been executed by order of king Ananta (1028-63). Subsequently his widow had offered the hill foot to king kalaśa (1063-89) with a view to better assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from the inroads of the Daradas, King Kalaśa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darada king from whom *Harṣa* (1089-1101) subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring *Ḍāmaras* [2]. From this stein has drawn the conclusion that "strong-holds as well as land had practically become hereditory possess-

(1) *Rājat*. VII, 1171-74.
(2) *Rājat*. VII. 1177-86.

ions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption [1]. But why did King Kalaśa refuse the offer? If he did so on account of his weakness and inability to hold the fort, why did not King Ananta take it when he had sufficient strength to accomplish the execution of the *Ḍāmara* who held it ?. If he had held the fort of the king by any form of feudal tenure it would have ultimately lapsed to the king after the execution of the *Ḍāmara* and, again, if the king had any feudal right over it, Kalaśa would have been obliged to accept the offer of the *Ḍāmara's* wife as a matter of right and duty rather than of favour. That the offer came from the *Ḍāmara's* wife after the reign of King Ananta[2], shows that she succeeded to her husband's possession as a matter of right and if any royal sanction was needed, she might have taken it. So we cannot agree with Stein's conclusion that the *Ḍāmara's* holdings were becoming hereditary by the weakening of the central authority; it would rather seem that they were hereditary by long standing tradition at all times.

In the earter period we do not find the

(1) *Rājat.* Stein; tr. Vol. II, p. 306.

(2) *Rājat.* VI. 354.

*Ḍāmaras* to have formed a part of the regular royal army Queen *Diddā's* commander-in-Chief is seen destroying the hosts of the *Ḍāmaras*[1]. We do not find them in the army sent under Tunga to help *Śāhi* Trilocanapāla against *Mohmūd* of *Ghaznī*. Only in turbulent times of civil strife do we find them taking sides with one or the other faction, usually against the ruling king.

We have not been able to ascertain to which caste these *Ḍāmaras* belonged. This much is sure that they were not *Brāhmaṇas*. We have reference to *Brāhmaṇas*' fasts owing to the oppression of the *Ḍāmaras* [2]. Perhaps being the indigenous class they could not be incorporated within the framework of the haughty nobility. In the second *Rājataraṇgiṇī* they are mentioned as Ḍombas. Lawrence also held that the *Ḍāmaras* were descendants of *Śudras* [3]. Whether this epithet was used merely out of scorn or not, this much can be said that they belonged to an inferior class. In a certain passage Kalhaṇa praises the wife of the *Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka* who became a *Sati* when her husband was mortally wounded and he

(1) *Rājat*. VII. 46-47

(2) *Rājat*. VII 1229, VIII 658.

(3) Lawrence: *Valley of Kashmir*; p 306.

attributes this exceptional conduct to the lady's noble descent from a family of *Rājputs* [3]. As *Sati* was a very common practice at that time and was much esteemed among *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas* especially, it appears that *Ḍāmara* women, not belonging to the higher strata of society in matters of caste, did not immolate themselves. Moreover, the blood - sprinkling rite, as we have seen above in the case of King Cakravarman and the *Ḍāmaras* taking pledge together [4], was peculiar to the *Ḍāmaras* and Khaṣas, and was not followed by the *Brāhmaṇas*. Such customs are found also among the Khonds in other parts of India [5].

[Read at the Kashmir RESEARCH FORUM]
June 28, 60.

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(3) *Rājat*. VIII. 2334-38.

(4) Supra. P. 14.

(5) Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings); Vol. IX p. 430.

# ASPECTS OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM–I

## NATURE OF MIND IN PRATYABHIJÑĀ

(Dr R. K. KAW, M.A., Ph. D.)

In Western Philosophy, rarely do we come across a system which regards mind as different from soul. The 'mind' of Western Psychology generally corresponds in Indian Philosophy to *manas*, *buddhi*, *cit* and *ahaṅkāra*, taken together and called *antaḥkaraṇa* or inner sense organ. These four entities may roughly be translated as 'thought', 'intelligence' or 'knowledge', 'recollection' and 'ego'—all of which in some way or other belong to *Ātman* (self). The only school of Indian philosophy that does not draw distinction between mind and *Ātman* is Buddhism, which does not affirm the existence of *Ātman*. The *Pratyabhijñā* school is peculiar in that, on the one hand, it agrees with other Indian schools in taking three of its categories, *manas* (undetermined thought), *ahaṅkāra* (ego or self-arrogation) and *buddhi* (determined thought), together as *antaḥkaraṇa* or mind at the empirical level, apart from *Ātman*, and, on the other, it draws no distinction between mind and soul in the absolute sense, while affirming the functions of mind as activities of *Ātman* in its *vimarśa* aspect.

In the history of Indian Philosophy evolution of mind as a separate entity, apart from *Ātman*, starts right from the *Upaniṣads*. We shall notice what speculations are held about the nature of mind in various schools before explaining the point of view of the *Pratyabhijñā* school. In *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* we are told that objects are higher than the senses, *manas* higher than the objects, *buddhi* higher than *manas*, *mahat Ātman* (cosmic person or cosmic intelligence) higher than *buddhi*, *avyakta* (unmanifest) higher than *mahat*, and *Puruṣa* higher than *avyakta* (*Kaṭha*. 3.10). The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* gives the following as the names of *manas* : *Sañjñāna*, *Ājñāna* , *vijñāna*, *prajñāna*, *medhā* , *dṛṣṭi* , *dhṛti* , *mati* , *manīṣā*, *jūti* , *smṛti*, *saṃkalpa*, *kratu*, *asu*, *kāma* and *vasā*. These are translated as 'determinate knowledge, feeling of lordship, differential cognition, intelligence, wisdom, insight, fortitude, deliberation, thoughtfulness, impulse, memory, resolution, purpose, feeling of life, desire and passion for the opposite sex' (Aitariya. 3.2). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* gives the following functions of the manas : *Kāma*, *samkalpa*, *vicikitsā* (doubt), *śraddhā* (faith), *ashraddhā* (disbelief), *dhṛti* (fortitude), *adhṛti* (unsteadiness), *hrī* (modesty), *dhī* (intelligence)

and *bhī* (fear) (*Bṛhadāranya. 1.5.3*). Mind, in the Advaita Vedanta school, is the internal organ which consists of four divisions: *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and *citta*. The function of *manas* is doubting (whether the object is X or Y), of *Buddhi* is determining (that it is X), of *Citta* is recollecting, and of *Ahaṅkāra* is the attributing of experience to ego. While the *Advaita Vedanta* regards *buddhi* as an entity, as a subject and not a predicate as a substance and not as an attribute, *Viśiṣtādvaita* of *Rāmānuja* treats it as a *dharma* or quality. As regards the nature of mind in *Pūrva-mīmāmsā* school, *Prabhākara* holds that *manas* is substance (*dravya*), atomic (*aṇu*), eternal and extremely mobile, and *Kumārila* treats manas as organ (*Indriya, Karaṇa*), but according to the latter, it never operates apart from the body. The *Mīmāmsā* treats is as composed of only one entity, *manas*. In *Sānkhya* the *antaḥkaraṇa* consists of only three divisions, *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and *manas*. No place is given to *Citta*, the function of which is included in *buddhi*. According to *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika* school, *Ātman* is essentially consciousness, and the consciousness of *buddhi* is therefore due to the reflection of the consciousness of *Ātman* in it. *Antaḥkaraṇa* consists of *manas* only.

*Ātman* presides over the activities of body and *manas*. Buddhism has no conception of *manas* apart from *Buddhi*, *citta*, or *Vijñāna*. Some of the Buddhists denied the reality of *Ātman*, and others remained indifferent to the question of its existence. The Buddhists regarded human personality, which they call *pudgala*, as composed of five *skandhas* - aggregates: *rūpaskandha* or the aggregate of matter, *vedanāskandha* or the aggregate of feeling, *Sañjñānaskandha* or the aggregate of concepts, *samskāraskandha* or the aggregate of latent forces like instincts, and *vijñānaskandha* or the aggregate of consciousness. All these except *rūpaskandha* are mental. The Jaina philosophy, like the orthodox schools, distinguishes between *Ātman* and *manas*; and though it treats the *manas* as the *antaḥkaraṇa* of *Ātman* it calls it *anindriya* (non-sense-organ), as, unlike the sense-organs which are limited to their own particular field of knowledge, this apprehends the objects given by all sense-organs. Jainism gives the name *manas* to two different things, *dravyamanas* or substantial and *bhāvamanas* or ideal. The former is matter or *pudgala*, and the latter is the same as *Jñāna* or *buddhi* and so belongs to *Ātman*. Thus there is material as well as spiritual *manas*.

*Ātman*, according to *Pratyabhijñā* School, is '*Parkāśa-vimarśa-maya*'. It is not only self-luminous, but also self-conscious and free. *Parkāśa* implies luminosity of self *viz* pure consciousness with respect to itself; *Vimarśa* has particular significance in the system. It also means consciousness, but that consciousness functions at the empirical level, i. e. the consciousness with respect to external objects. *Prakāśa* is exclusively attributed to *Maheśvara* (the highest Being) in his *Viśvottīrṇa* aspect, i. e. when he is conceived as beyond this cosmos. In this aspect the *Parama Śiva* stands above all the categories, viz. principles of creation. It is the Transcendental state of the Ultimate, the Supreme Consciousness, free from qualities (*Nirguṇa*). *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* are indeed inseparable. There is no self - luminosity without self-consciousness and vice versa[1]. The whole universe from microcosm to macrocosm is endowed with *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*. *Prakāśa* makes *Ātman* conscious of itself and *vimarśa* makes him conscious of the external object world[2]. It is from this two-fold nature of the Ultimate Cause, that all creation from an atom to a mountain, all that lives or can be said to exist in any form, in the form of

sentient or insentient objects, macrocosm or microcosm, is endowed with powers of Will (*Icchā*), Cognition (*Jñāna*) and Action (*Kriyā*)[3]. The first power (*Icchā Śakti*) is technically called *Svātantrya Śakti* (Sovereignty of Will) which is the impetus behind all the creative thought and activity of an individual being. Sovereignty of will in relation to Cosmos (*Māheśvarya*) is the pivot of creation likewise. To *Maheśvara* in the form of *Ātman* (every individual soul) are further ascribed the powers of Rememberance (*Smarṇa śakti*), Knowledge (*Jañāna śakti*) and Differentiation (*Apohana śakti*). In the next para we shall notice the part played by *antaḥkaraṇa* in the *Pratyabhijñā* system, since all volitional, cognitive and conscious-physical acts at the empirical level presuppose the existence of mind.

*Antaḥkaraṇa* consists of *Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkāra* and *Manas*, according to *Pratyabhijñā* system. There is an agreement between the *Sānkhya* and the *Pratyabhijñā* on the conception of *Buddhi* so far as it is a common meeting place of both, the light of the *Puruśa* from one side and the reflection of the external object from the other. But *Puruṣa*, according to the former, remains always unaffected; it is pure sentient entity (*śuddha puruṣa*)[4].

But, according to the latter, *Puruṣa* (individual subject), though equally sentient, does not remain entirely unaffected under all circumstances. Further, according to the former, *Buddhi* is not objective (*asamvedya*), but, according to the latter, being an instrument of knowledge, it is knowable like any other instrument such as the mind. *Ahaṅkāra* is the product of *Buddhi*. It is nothing but the identification of the limited self with the *buddhi* and consequently the activity of the latter is attributed to itself. Its distinctive function is to control the five vital airs within the system and so the life itself. It is distinct from self-consciousness (*ahambhāva*), because while the latter is purely subjective (*svātmamātra viśrānti satattvaḥ*) and, therefore, without any objective reference, the former is due to superimposition of the self on the *Buddhi*. The *manas* is a product of *ahankāra* (egoity). The element of Sattva predominates in it. Without its co-operation with senses, no sensation of any kind is possible. It carves images out of the blocks of sensations and plays an important part in perception, as we shall see below.

In the *Pratyabhijñā* system the Ultimate

Reality is conceived both as Universal Consciousness and Universal Energy. It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jñātṛtva śakti* (omniscience) of the Universal Consciousness (Parā samvit), whereas the physical phenomena appear from *Kartṛtva śakti* (omnipotence) of Universal Energy, the other aspect of the Ultimate Reality. *Pratyabhijñā* makes a very clear distinction between the physical and the psychological activities involved in perception. What happens, when a certain perception takes place, is that the mind sets a certain sense to work. So long as there is no prompting by or the co-operation of the mind, the object, though reflected on the external sense, (retina in the case of optical sense, for instance), does not cause any sensation. When the sense comes in touch with the object, it receives the reflection of the latter, which may be said to consist of a number of sensations. The physical image is illumined by the light of knowledge proceeding from the self-luminous self, and casts its reflection through the medium of that very illuminating light on the *buddhi*. The psychological activity involved in percep-

tion corresponds to the physical in almost every way. It is, therefore, admitted by the *Pratyabhijñā* that the so - called one act of perception is not really one action, but a large number of them taken to be one because of their leading to one result, the judgement (*pramiti*)[5]. The whole process from the time of illumination of the object by an external light to that of its causing the consciousness of *buddhi* to be affected, leads only to an indeterminate knowledge. After this begins the process which is distinctive of the determinate knowledge. The determinative process begins with the selection by mind (*manas*) of some points out of the mass reflected on the *buddhi*, as for instance, in the case of a person saying, "I am seeing a jar". It is not that he sees the jar alone. There are many other objects which are reflected on the *buddhi* through the retina. That part alone of the whole of the presentation (to his mind) which he selects to the exclusion of the rest of the presentation, leads to the determinate knowledge of the jar.

It is important to point out here that *Pratyabhijñā* school has propounded a theory, namely *Abhāsavād*, according to which each

object, as we perceive it, is a momentary collocation of certain number of *Ābhāsas* (manifestations). It will be noticed that *Pratyabhijnā* has accepted the Bauddha theory of momentariness of both the subject and the object. Thus every object, according to the system, is momentary and both the psychological and the physical activities presuppose the identification of the self with the momentary manifestation of the body and the mind. Each and every *Ābhāsa* requires a separate perceptual activity for its perception. The causal efficiency of each, however, depends upon its being determinately cognised which further depends upon the will, the immediate need and the analytical capacity of each perceiver. 'In perception, in which the objects are externally manifest, the manifestation is due to *Svātantrya* (sovereignty of perceiver's will), but in rememberance etc. it is due to the residual traces of the former experience.' (IPV. VI. 9) It has been stated (as a settled fact) that 'rememberance includes the perception within itself'. The perception, however, has two forms, bacause of the difference in intellectual reaction:

(i) Sometimes perception of the object is preceded by self-consciousness. In this case,

of course, there is predominance of self-consciousness or will, as in "seen by me".

(ii) At other times he primarily perceives the object. In this case there is no will, but the object forcibly presents itself to the consciousness all of a sudden, or the subject is swayed by the idea of the causal efficiency (of the object) as in the case of "this". In this case also there is determinate self-consciousness. For, otherwise, the object will not shine.

Accordingly the forms of perception are two; so are those of rememberance also. Thus, with one sub-division of each (according to the two forms of perception) remeberance is of four kinds. Recognition also, which is the unification of the past and the present experience, is included in the six forms of knowledge. But because of the different forms of perception and rememberance, the recognition has eight forms. These being subdivided into two each, according as the past or present experience predominates, it has sixteen forms. There are thus, twenty-two forms of cognition[6].

It is, therefore, clear that psychological experiences like perception, rememberance, differentiation, recognition, ascertainment and so on

depending upon *antaḥkaraṇa* are beheld in the system as the direct activities of *Ātman*.

## NOTES

1. In fact these two are only two names of one and the same substance and that substance is *Parma Śiva* (the Ultimate Reality).

2. In other words, *Prakāśa* (luminosity) in *Pratyabhijñā* means what exists (: the manifested reality) and *Vimarśa* means what makes us aware of the existence of what exists. The relation of self-consciousness with the Universal Consciousness is just like a manifested bubble in a vast sea. Prakāśa is the Universal Consciousness and Vimarśa, self-consciousness in an individual being.

3. Kartari jnātari, ātmanyādi siddhe Maheśvare.

4. Puruṣastu puṣkara-palāśavad nirlepaḥ kintu cetanaḥ.

5. Na ekaikataḥ pramāṇāt sā pravṛttiḥ, api tu pramāṇa-samūhādeva.

6. dvāvimśati samvedana bhedāh. (I.P.V. iv 8).

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# KASHMIR ŚAIVA REALISM

(B. N. PANDIT)

The *Śaivistic* thinkers of Kashmir believe that the *self* has an absolute existence. Each and every living being is always conscious of his existence. His existence is always being felt. No living being requires the help of any element in feeling his existence[1]. He has not to depend even on his senses, mind, and intellect for this purpose, because when all these aids of knowledge vanish in a stage of dreamless sleep, the self feels itself as a witness to that stage. Had it not then existed as a witness, how could it afterwards recollect the *void* experienced therein ? Thus the *self* is always self-existant, self - evident and self-conscious. The *Turyā* or the fourth stage of consciousness can faintly be experienced by all of us in the highest pitch of an emotion and other such psychological conditions[2]. This stage can vividly be experienced by *yogins* in *Samādhi.* The experience of that *Turyā* stage makes the *yogī* feel that he exists everywhere and in everything and that everything exists in him. Further it helps him realise that he is pure *Prakāśa* or evidentness and that *Prakāśā* is pure *Vimarśa* or consciousness, and

that he transcends the whole phonomenal universe.

The *Śaiva* philosophers, relying on this experience of the *Turyā* stage, affirm that this consciousness in itself is a sort of stir-not a physical one, nor a mental one, but a spiritual stir. Every living being feels this sort of urge in him[3], which appears in the form of *will* to *know* and to *do* and every living being is always active in knowing and doing. Knowing[4] itself is an action and doing does not exist without knowing. Neither of these can exist without *willing* and *willing* is a sort of outward-movement - like activity of that subtle urge or stir of a living being. This stir appears like a vibration known as *spanda*. It is neither like a physical vibration of sound, or light, nor like a mental vibration of desire, passion, disgust etc. It is a movement - like activity of consciousness which is simultaneously vibrating outwardly and inwardly by its nature[5]. The inward and the outward movement of *spanda* are the subjective consciousness and the objective consciousness respectively. It is by virtue of this double-edged nature of the *spanda* that the self is experienced in both its transcendental and universal aspects in the *Turyā* stage. *Parama Śiva*, the *real self*

shines through its own lustre[6] in the state known as *Turyātīta* which transcendes even the *Turyā* stage. There it shines as 'I' which trancends the conceptions of transcendality and universality. It is 'I' and 'I' alone. It is that lustre which is known as *Prakāśa* or evidentness and as *Vimarśa*[7] or consciousness called pure *samvit* in the *śaiva śāstra.* This 'I' is nct the egoistic 'I'[8]. The egoistic 'I' takes either the gross physical body or the fine mental body or the subtle life-breath or the still subtler *void* of the dreamless sleep as its basis. But this 'I' consisting of *samvit* and *samvit* alone, is absolutely pure, and is the real self of every living being. Since its nature is a subtle stir, this *spanda* is known as *śiva* and as *śakti* on account of its transcendental and universal aspects respectively. The whole phenomenon exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit,* just as a plant exists in a seed in the form of the seed[9]. There is not evtn the faintest trace of a plant in a seed, but the plant exists there. How could a plant sprout out of a seed if it had not already existed there? In the same manner the transcendentality and the universality exist in a subtler form in the *Parama siva* and, therefore, these two aspects of *him*

appear in the stages of *śiva* and *śakti*[10]. *Śiva* and *śakti* are one. These two names are given to pure *samvit* because of the conception of its two aspects. This stage of complete unity is the stage of *śakti*. The phenomenal universe which exists in this stage in a subtler and seed - like form, becomes faintly evident in the stage of *Vidyā* which is the stage of unity-cum-diversity. It is a sort of sprouting condition of a seed. Both the seed and the sprout appear there, but both appear as one inseparable whole. This stage of *Vidyā* like that of *śakti* is always changed with the stir of *spanda* and by virtue of that stir it attains the form of clear imagination. *Vidyā* in itself is a sort of subjective imagination. The subject imagins itself as having the whole phenomenon as his body in the stage of *Vidyā*. The stage of clear imagination is known as the stage of *Māyā*, the stage of objective imagination. The phenomenon is imagined as something separate from the subject in this stage of *Māyā*. *Vidyā* is a sort of liquefaction of *śakti* and *Māyā* is a sort of solidification of *Vidyā*[11]. *Will* or *Ichā* or *śakti* is the subtlest form of the *lord* and in this form *He* starts to appear. The whole phenomenon, thus, is nothing but a sort of materialization of the *will* of the *Lord*.

It is clear, therefore, that the whole phenomenon exists. For worldly souls in the stage of *Māyā* it exists objeceively. For those in the stage of *Vidyā* it exists as their own body; for those in the stage of *śakti* it exists as their-self and self alone. Thus it exists in all these three stages and, therefore, is something real. The absolute subjectiveness is its finest form and the gross objectiveness is the impurest one. The intermediate stage of *Vidyā* is pure when compared to *Māyā*, but is impure when compared to *śakti*. *Parama Śiva* descends from the stage of *śakti* to those of *Vidyā* and *Māyā* and then *he* ascends from the stage of *Māyā* to the two upper stages. He is always ascending and descending in countless forms. This ascending and descending is not any physical activity but mere imagination. He imagins *himself* to be a limited soul of the *Māyā* stage and appears like that. Again *he* recognizes *his* real nature as that of pure *samvit* and shines again as *Parama Śiva*[12]. All this is mere appearance and that appearance is based on imagination. That imagination is a sort of liquefaction-like activity of *will* of the *soul* and *his will* is anapparent form of *his* subtle urge of pure consciousness, as has been said above. Thus everything is the *Lord* and the *Lord* is every thing.

What is real and what can be said to be unreal? The *self* is indeed real as it always exists. Its reality is the absolute one. The phenomenon also is real[13] because it also exists in *him*. Its phenomenal existance is the imaginative one. Existance is existance[14], let it be *Pāramārthika sattā* (absolute existance) or *samvitisattā* (imaginary existance). In fact the whole phenomenon has twofold existance. It always exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit* and that is its subjective existance[15]. It exists in the form of phenomenal universe and that is its objective existance. Appearance of these two types of existance is the real god-head of the *Parama śiva.* Had *he* not the capacity to make this twofold existence appear, then *he* alone would have existed or even *he* may not have existed at all. But *he* exists[16] and exists as the absolute god. His godhead makes the reality appear in two aspects of subjectivity and objectivity. The absclute objective aspect of the reality is the basic one. but its objective aspect also is real because it also exists within that absolute subjective aspect[17]. The changeover between these two aspects of the reality is the essence ct that reality. This changeover is always going on gradually in countless forms and the countless stages of that

gradual changeover is this whole phenomenon. All this is the manifestation of the energy of the pure *samvit*. That *samvit* and the energy of that *samvit* are real and both are in fact one and, therefore, all this is real. Reality and non - reality are merely two terms coined by worldly souls in order to manage to carry on the routine works of worldly life. Conceptions like the son of a eunuch, the horns of a hare and the milk of a toroise are considered to be substantially nonexistant, as these are mere conceptions. But this universe of numerous worlds and countless subjects and objects is not a mere conception. It enjoys the *samviti sattā* or imaginery existence which is one of the two kinds of existence. All imagination is real and existant for the time being. Had it not been so how could a mere imagination of an enemy arouse wrath in the mind of a hero? The difference between such an imagination and the appearance of this phenomenon is only this, that the imagination of a hero is the imagination of the self who has descended to the stage of *Māyā* and the appearance of the phenomenon is the imagination of the self while in the stage of *śakti*. *Māyā* is nothing but a sort of solidification of *śakti*. *Śakti* is real and, therefore, *Māyā* also is real and so

is the phenomenon which appears in *Māyā*. Its reality is imaginary, and not the adsolute one. It is to be taken as real and existent. Then and then alone can any worldly activity or any activity connected with the study of scriptures, practices of *yoga* and performance of devotion etc. he persued. This is, in short, the view of the *śaivistic* philosophers of Kashmir.

This realism of the *śaivas* is quite different from the *satkārya vāda* of the *sānkhyas*, which is based on the theory of modification of the *Prakṛti* or material energy. Material energy being lifeless, can never undergo by itself such a modification which brings into existence this complex universe, the evolution of which must have some definite aim. Thus[18] it presupposes the existance of some intelligent agent who keeping that aim in view, directs the material energy towards the evolution of this universe. The atomistic theory of realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas* also is different from this doctrine of the realism of the *śaivas*. The *self* being always imaginative does creat a world of his own even in this stage of *Māyā* while he is dreaming[19]. *He* does not require any atoms etc. for this purpose. A highly developed *yogin* can create a substance by mere materialization of his *will* without using any material for the

purpose[20]. Why then imagine the *Lord* as using atoms etc. for the purpose of the creation of the universe? The evidence of the experiences of the *Turyā* and *Turyātīta* stages also falsifies the theory of the atomistic realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas.*

The realism of the *Hīnayāna* schools of Budhism has been considerably criticised by the *Mahāyāna* schools of that faith. The *Vedantist* theory ol non-existence of the phenomenon is not quite convincing and still less convincing are the similar theories of the *Mahāyana* schools of Budhism[21]. The *śaivistic* doctrine, as presented above, is well established by the experience of the *Turyā* and the *Turyātīta* stages. The *vaiśnava* philosophers also have preached the same view as that of the *śaivas*; but they have not been able to establish it by sound arguments. Instead, they have tried to impose far-fetched interpretations of their own on the scriptures.

## NOTES

[IP—Īśvara pratyabhijñā; IPV—IP Vimarśiṇī;

IŚ—Īśvarasiddhi; ŚD—Śivadṛṣṭi;

ŚJ—Śivajīvadaśakam; SK—Spandakārikā

TA—Tantrāloka; TS—Tantrasāra.]

1. कर्तरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धे महेश्वरे ।
   अजडात्मा निषेधं वा सिद्धिं वा विदधीत कः ॥ (IP. I. 1/2)
2. अतिक्रुद्धः प्रहृष्टो वा किं करोमीति वा मृशन् ।
   धावन् वा यत् पदं गच्छेत् तत्र स्पन्दः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ (SK. 22)
3. सा च दृश्या हृदुद्देशे कार्यस्मरणकालतः ।
   प्रहर्षावेदसमये दरसन्दर्शनक्षणे ॥
   अनालोचनतो दृष्टे विसर्गप्रसरास्पदे ।
   विसर्गोक्तिप्रसङ्गे च वाचने धावने तथा ॥
   एतेष्वेव प्रसङ्गेषु सर्वशक्तिविलोलता । (ŚD. I. 9/10)
4. घटादिग्रहकालेऽपि घटं जानाति सा क्रिया ।
   जानाति ज्ञानमत्रैव निरिच्छोर्वेदनक्षतिः ॥
   औन्मुख्याभावतस्तस्य निवृत्तिर्निर्वृतिं विना ।
   द्वेष्ये प्रवर्तते नैव न च वेत्ति विना चितम् ॥ (ŚD. I. 24/25)
5. हृदये स्वविमर्शोऽसौ द्राविताशेषविश्वकः ।
   भावग्रहादिपर्यन्तभावी सामान्यसंज्ञकः । (भावग्रहो विश्वात्मतास्वीकारः)
   स्पन्दः स कथ्यते शास्त्रे स्वात्मन्युच्छलनात्मकः ॥ (TA. V)
6. उपायजालं न शिवं प्रकाशयेद् घटेन किं भाति सहस्रदीधितिः ॥ (TS)
7. स्वभावमवभासस्य विमर्शं विदुरन्यथा ।
   प्रकाशोऽर्थोपरक्तोऽपि स्फटिकादिजडोपमः ॥ (IP. I. 5/11)
8. अहं प्रत्यवमर्शो यः प्रकाशात्मापि वाग्वपुः ।
   नासौ विकल्पः...................... ॥ (IP. I. 6/1)
9. स्वामिनश्चात्मसंस्थस्य भावजातस्य भासनम् ।

अस्त्येव न विना तस्माद् इच्छामर्शः प्रवर्तते ॥ (IP. I. 5/10)

10. न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्व्यतिरेकिणी ।
शिवः शक्तस्तथा भावान् इच्छया कर्तुमीहते ॥
शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न गण्यते । (ŚD. III.. 2, 3)

11. Cf. Mātṛkā-Cakra-Viveka of Śri Swatantrānanda Nātha.

12. येनोत्कीर्णं विश्वचित्रं स्वभित्तौ नानावर्णैश्चित्रितं येन भक्त्या ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् नृत्यते येन हृत्वा सोऽहं साहिबकौलकारामशम्भुः ॥ (ŚJ.1)

13. चिन्मयत्वेऽवभासानामन्तरेव स्थितिः सदा ।
मायया भासमानानां बाह्यत्वाद्बहिरप्यसौ ॥

14. एवं च संवृतिः विकल्पबुद्धिः, तद्वशाद् उच्यतां संवृतिसत्यत्वं सत्यत्वस्यैव तु प्रकारः तत् । (IPV. II- 2. 4)

15. CF 13, above.

16. अस्थास्यदेकरूपेण वपुषा चेन्महेश्वरः ।
महेश्वरत्वं संवित्त्वं तदत्यक्ष्यद् घटादिवत् ॥ (TA)

17. भावाभावावभासानां बाह्यतोपाधिरुच्यते ।
नात्मा सत्ता ततस्तेषामान्तराणां सतां सदा ॥ (IP. I. 8/5)

18. लोकयात्रानुसन्धानवतीं प्रज्ञां विना न हि ।
तथा चिकीर्षां च विना विचित्ररचनोद्भवः ॥
स्थूलता मात्रमेव स्यान्न तु लोकोपयोगिनी ।
रचना नियमेन स्याद्विचित्रा जातिरूपिणी ॥ (IS. 31-33)

19. तदेवं व्यवहारेऽपि प्रभुर्देहादिमाविशन् ।
भान्तमेवान्तरर्थौघमिच्छया भासयेद्बहिः ॥ (IP. I. 50. 7)

20. चिदात्मैव हि देवोऽन्तः स्थितमिच्छावशाद् बहिः ।
योगीव निरुपादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ (IP. I. 5. 7)

21. एवमन्योन्यभिन्नानामपरस्परवेदिनाम् ।
ज्ञानानामनुसन्धानजन्मा नश्येज्जनस्थितिः ॥

न चेदन्तःकृतानन्तविश्वरूपो महेश्वरः ।
स्यादेकश्चिद्वपुर्ज्ञानस्मृत्यपोहनशक्तिमान् ॥ (IP. I. 3. 6, 7)

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*Art & Archaeology –*

## *JAGATRAM CHHUNIA : The Pahāṛī Artist*

**(SAMSAR CHAND)**

Jagat Ram Chhunia's ancestors originally belonged to Ramnagar, but his father, Shiv Ram, resided in Kishanpur (Basohli), simply because some landed property was bestowed upon him by a Dogra Chief as Muafi'.

Shiv Ram had two sons and a daughter. Jagat Ram, the elder son, was nicknamed Chhunia and Nand Lal was endearingly called Nandi by the elder brother. Chhunia married thrice. Mast Ram, his son, was born from his first wife. About him he bitterly complained that he was not interested in painting, whereas others keenly learnt Art from him without payment. The Artist wanted the tradition to continue in his line after his death. But tbe conduct of his son ran contrary to his wishes. Mast Ram had two sons Kesho Ram and Jagan Nath, but neither of them was inspired to learn painting. Mast Ram had some practice but could not carry on further.

Maharaja Ranbir singh was an enlightened and progressive ruler. He was the first to encourage education

1 An order dated 1830 challenged by a rival party was endorsed by Dewan Amar Nath, then Prime Minister of Kashmir, during the reign of Maharaja Partap Singh. It declared that Jagat Ram Chhunia was a real batesar.

in the State. He was a great patron of Fine Arts. Several able artists were liberally encouraged and people of the State given stipends to learn Art. Hari Chand was a celebrated Artist of Kangra whose grand father Nand Lal is said to have come to Jammu. Nand Lal had two sons Channu and Ruldoo. Both of them worked in Jammu: Ruldoo and his nephew (son of Channu), Hari Chand also called Hari Sharan were contemporary artists in the Darbar of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Hari chand continued to paint till the late nineteenth century and very often accompanied The Maharaja whenever he went outside the State. Jagat Ram was made a candidate under the tutorship of Hari Chand. A controversy had cropped up about this tutorship; some held that he was a pupil of Ruldoo, while others affirmed that he was a student of Har Chand. But the reminiscenses of the author go in favour of the latter. Whenever Chhunia mentioned the name of his master, he mentioned it reverentially even though Hari Chand belonged to the carpenter class, while Chhunia was an educated Brahmin. He referred to a serious crisies in his master's house. One of the members of his family looked enviously at the young artist and asked the artist not to breed a snake (a rival) in his house. This member could hardly be other than Ruldoo himself; as Hari Chand is often depicted with fine qualities and refined manners. Ruldoo was unwilling to encourage a participant in their trade. Evidence has it that more people went to Hari Chand to learn painting and he was always very kind to his pulpils. But it was never revealed by Jagat Ram Chhunia, who it was that hampered his training. In later years he was almost

a contemporary to his master, but his popularity paled in the presence of his Guru. Jagat Ram belonged to a family of mediocres. He was a Sanskrit scholar and a tantric, well versed in the occult lore. He did not enjoy high repute in spite of his accomplishment and sterling qualities. He was unassuming, simple and quiet. Hari Chand was, no doubt, a master of the brush, but Jagat Ram had the benefit of his learning. He had the advantage of knowing exact descriptions of the *Dhyānas*. He was the devotee of *Ucchiṣṭa Ganapati*. He was also seen murmuring the *Durgā Sapta Satī* while at his work. He was an intimate of Maharaja Partap Singh, the successor of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Their friendship dated back to their childhood when they played together. So he was a private employee of the Maharaja. He got a nominal pittance which could hardly lighten his financial burden. It was rather a sort of scholarship for the artist, as he never attended any office. He used to offer a painting or two on State occasions such as Basant, Dussehra or Diwali.

Late in life he had to face a serious shock, which awfully perturbed the poor artist. Public taste registred a liking for western art. Cheap prints from Bombay (Raja Ravi Verma Press) based on Indian mythology, flooded the market. These prints were awfully cheap and bright and looked a bit three dimentional. With the change of time the artist began to introduce light and shade for his figures. His accentuation of line shade which he sometimes turned into spots appeared awkward in old style. There were no masses of light and shade. Only shade was intensified to create effect

by long dashes. Chhunia saw oil painting for the first time and was so much impressed that he became very much inquisitive to know the tecnnique of their foreign medium. It was an aggressive medium the charm of which no one could evade. He wanted to see an oil painting being executed. The fascination of realism was great enough for him, but there was no chance of his watching the demonstration of such a technique. The aspirant lay in wait for such an opportunity. It so happened that a European artist was ordered to execute an order for the Maharaja in Jammu. But the artist was awfully prejudiced against working in open before all others. He did not allow any person to see him at easle. The India artist was equally bent upon watching the westerner at work. Somehow it was arranged that Chhunia stood looking keenly at the execution of the oil painting. The foreigner was not, howover, unconscious of the eye looking intently from behind. He saw the eyes fixed on his work. The self-oblivious attendant clean forgot that he could be detected. Next day nobody was allowed to enter the studio of the artist. The poor attendant had been caught red-handed before he could pick up something. Chhunia was soon equipped with the oil media. It was not a joke to handle a new medium without practice and tuition. Looking from a distance how colours were mixed and applied on to canvas could help no novice. He painted several portraits and some subject paintings, but his hands which were attuned to a different style and a different technique could not adopt things miles apart form his own.

There was no question of reconciliation. There was

no life in his oil paintings. This failure in a foreign medium was quite natural. But speaking of his own school he was matchless in his time. He was quite at home in the *pahāṛī* style, though his later paintings appear to be loaded with retouchings. His early works show the traditional style ripe bonafide and at best. He executed a number of ivory miniatures for his patron, the Maharaja.

A masterpiece of his depicts Radha approached by Sri Krishna under a bower on the bank of the Jamuna, where half-naked Radha emerges from water to greet Sri Krishna. The rainy season is in full swing. The muddy rain-water running zig-zag in gullies is pouring into the Jamuna. It was a figurative illustration. This painting shows amours of the pair deeply in love, over-powred by the master passion.

But the last painting he could finish in his life-time was that of "Sarb" a very peculiar painting ever painted by any trtist. It was a tantric deity painted for the Maharaja as desired by his Guru Pt. Jagadish. It took him three years to complete it. It was about $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. It had innumerable figures of deities spread all over the space. It had a naturalistic effect and was a very colouful picture.

The last years of this Indian artist were full of troubles and misery. Unfortunately he was an opium-eater. Having grown weak with age and illness he needed rich food which his poor earnings could not procure. Old and infirm he continued to ply his brush. Once he very aptly used a beautiful similex. He

uttered with a sigh of regret and frustration that while it (art) was maturing to strength and youth he himself was growing old. He was no match for such a thing. In the expression art was painted as a spouse, whom he loved very dearly and intensely. He could not spare it in his old age. A beautiful expression of pathos of deep-seated frustration.

Chhunia was very polite and mild a lovable a personality who could manage even rough natures. He had great regard for his pupils who were really interested in Art. He used to lament the death of the young Ganga Bishan, a very promising student of Art. His home-life was anything but hapyy. When he died in 1923 at seventy-five unknown and unlamented, the last ray of Pahārī Art vanished from the horizon of Indian painting. He had a very big collection of Indian paintings belonging to different hands, and also a number of rare books. It was always painful for him to lose a picture even if it was sold away. Some very notable paintings of his collection were stolen by his false friends. The survivors who were not well-off soon disposed of his treasures at paltry prices.

[ Clues to any painting by Chhunia will be gratefully acknowledged.

—Ed ]

# QUESTION, COMMENT & CONJECTURE

[*Contributions to this column are eagarly awaited—Ed.*]

## ḌUGGAR

(D. C. PRASHANT)

The word *Ḍuggar*, which means the land of the Dogras. has all along baffled research scholars. About 80 years back, the learned Pandits of Maharaja Ranbir Singh came to the conclusion that *Ḍuggar* is an *apabhraṁśa* of the word *Dvigarta* (:two ditches). The existence of two lakes - Mānsar and Sruīnsar - in the region appeared to corroborate the theory and after that it became a 'patent fact'. Had they been students of philology, they would have gone deeper in analysing this word, for the word *garta* does not convey the sense of a lake. The Pandits, nevertheless, hastened to form their opinion because they had come across the word *Trigarta* in the *Mahabharata*. The *Trigarta Deśa*, which was extremely arid in ancient times, stood for the desert on the east of the *Śatadru* (Satluj), and included the tract between the Satluj and the Sarasvati containing Ludhiana and Patiala on the north and a portion of the desert on the south. The words *Trigarta* and *Dvigarta* are so alike that they appear to be cast in the same mould.

*Dvigarta* is a *tatsama* word : a compound of *dvi* (:two) and *garta* (:ditch). *The apabhraṁśa* of *dvi* should be *du* rather than *ḍu* while *garta* in Dogri has assumed the form of *gatta* and not *gar*.

Prof. Gauri Shankar has discussed[1] the theory at length but has left it open. He has also considered[2] the derivation of the word from *Durgar* (:Difficult terrain). The treks in the land, no doubt, are hard and hazardous ; but this hypothesis is also open to the same objection as above : the transformation of *du* into *ḍu*.

The problem has, therefore, engaged my mind for a pretty long time. My Rajasthan tour, two years back, helped me to suggest a new possibility, already hinted[3] at by some authorities earlier.

In Rajasthan, there is a place Doongarpur and the inhabitants of this place are called Dongras. The word *Doongar* in Rajasthani means a hill and Dongras are those who dwell on the hills. *Doongar* means a hill in Gujrati also. History tells us that centuries back teams of people from Rajasthan migrated to this side and the migration went on for several decades. The people who migrated here came to be known as Dongras as they settled down on hills. The Dogras, I suggest, are etymologically no other than these Dongras.

One would naturally like to ask how the word Dongra has been denazalised ? Several examples can be quoted to support this linguistic phenomenon (:denazalisation in Dogri). Thus, we have :

1. Indian Linguistics, VII, Part I ; Calcutta, 1939 (pp 106 ff) ;
2. Journal Punjab Historical Society, VIII
3. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, XV (pp 100).

| Hindi | Dogri | Hindi | Dogri |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chīṅk | Chikk | Ūñc | Ucc |
| Chīṇṭ | Chīt | Seṅkanā | Sekanā |
| Ūṇṭ | Ūt | Phūṅkanā | Phūkanā |
| Jañc | Jāc | Īṇṭ | Iṭṭ |
| Sanwārnā | Suarnā | Kānc | Kac. |

A few Hindi words which retain the anuswāra in Punjabi, have dropped it in Dogri, such as :-

| Punjabi | Dogri |
|---|---|
| Cauṅk | Cakk |
| Cauṅka | Caukā |
| Saunh | Soh |
| Doongā | Doogā |
| Joṅk | Jukk |

The Dogras are scattered in the Kangra and Hoshiarpur areas also; but these parts are not called Duggar, while the homeland of the Dogras is called Duggar. The Kangra people have never described their land as such, though they call themselves Dogras.

In Rajasthan I noticed a marked affinity of culture with Duggar. The paintings of Rajasthan have greatly influenced the Dogra art. Ancient dresses such as *ghatanna, pasuaj, jama, cholarhi* and also some ornaments of Duggar and Rajasthan bear a marked resemblance. Some castes of both the places are also similar. It is said that the original Rajputs of Duggar are *candravamśīs*. The *Sūryavamśīs* are migrants. Even some customs and conventions of both the places are alike.

Gods such as Mandlīk and Guggā are worshipped at both places. Some vocables are common in Rajas-

thani and Dogri. Thus, for instance, Lūn (Sanskrit, Lavaṇa) occurs in both the languages and the word mārhā is also used in both.

The Dogra migrants brought with them artisans who influenced local art and architecture Even a typical Dogra house may be described as an imitation of a Rajasthani house. Folk-songs such as *Bāran* and *Kārkān* and some musical instruments like *sarangi* have a family likeness. Do these things point out the cultural and linguistic affinities of Rajasthan and Duggar ?

During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh some scholars did make an attempt to prove that the lineage[4] of the Jammu and Rajasthan Rajputs was identical. Hence they concluded that the Rajputs, who migrated to this side from Rajasthan, were separated from their kith and kin at the time of Raja Agnigarbha, the ninth ruler before Raja Jambulochan. The genealogy of the Jammu rulers clearly shows the migration of the Rajputs from Rajasthan to this side.

Moreover, the word *Duggar* is prevalent only in the lower region of the Jammu province, while the *Kandi* people describe their land as *Kandi* and inhabitants of the upper regions call their area *Pahār*. The word was, nevertheless, well known to people living in the area of Sialkot and Shakargarh adjacent to the Dogri-speaking parts of Jammu and Kathua districts. Even several villages (Dogri-speaking) in the Sialkot district were known as Duggar by the Punjabis before partition. The conclusion, therefore, is obvious that Duggar is an imported word, not to be derived from *dvigarta*.

4. The Vamśāvalī of the Dogra rulers ; Jammu, 1956 Vik.

## VIEWS & REVIEWS

[ **Publishers on Indology are invited to send two copies of their latest Publication for Review in these columns.** —ED.]

### 1. KASHMIR UNDER THE SULTANS. *

It is very fortunate that Kashmir is attracting the attention of eminent Indian research scholars. The publication of Dr. S. C. Ray's EARLY HISTORY & CULTURE OF KASHMIR in 1957 and now that of KASHMIR UNDER THE SULTANS by Mr Mohibbul Hasan are welcome additions to the Indian territorial historiography on modern scientific lines. Mr. Mohibbul-Hasan has already won appreciation for his monumental monograph on Sultan Fateh Shah Tipu Sahib and has established his reputation as an erudite scholar. The present volume, it is hoped, will also find its place as a classical and pioneering work of research on the much neglected mediaeval period of the history and culture of Kashmir.

During the 19th century great orientalists like Peterson, Wilson, Cunningham, A. Stein and Buhler introduced the ancient heritage of Kashmir to the English-speaking world, but because of the apathy of the Government and officialdom of the time hardly any attention was paid either to the preservation or acquisition of the mediaeval works of art. Persian and Arabic MSS on the history, culture and literature of mediaeval Kashmir, or

* Kashmir under the Sultans: by Mr. Mohibul—Hasan B.A. Hons (London), Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligarh; Published by the Iran Society, 159-B Dharmtala Street, Calcutta; 1959. Pages: 337, Royal Oct; Price; Rs. 25/—

the protection of the mediaeval monuments. This has made the work of a researcher of mediaeval Kashmir all the more arduous and difficult.

Mr. Mohibbul Hasan deserves congratulations for his pioneering effort in presenting a critical study of the period based on original, contemporary and later sources of the history of Kashmir. Some of the material used by him is entirely a new find and has been utilised for the study of this period almost for the first time.

The author has rightly remarked that the contributions of Newall, Kaul and Kak are very sketchy and are based on slender evidence. The chapter in the *Cambridge History of India* has more details but is based mainly on the Mughal sources and concentrates only on political events. A more recent work is Sufi's *Kashir*, a history of Kashmir from the ancient times to the present day. The scope of his work is so wide that it was not possible for him to utilise all original authorities. The few chapters that he has devoted to Kashmir under the Sultans are brief, uncritical and lacking in historical perspective.

The present study, on the other hand, reconstructs the history of Kashmir from the foundation of the Sultanate till its conquest by Akbar, from original sources of information. It describes political events as also the administrative institutions, social and economic life and the cultural activities of the period.

The book opens with a critical appraisal of the primary and secondary ori-

ginal sources of information. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Syed Ali S/o Syed Muhammad, a nephew of Sultan Nazuk Shah Chak (1529-1540 A.D.), *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by an anonymous writer (MS belonging to K. HOF-Und Staats-Bibliothek Muenchen) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Hasan Ali Kashmiri and the India Office MS of *Tarkh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haider deserve a special mention in the original sources utilised by the author for the first time. It is very unfortunate that so far the Jammu and Kashmir Government Department of Oriental Research has not cared to bring out critical editions of these texts of fundamental importance though works of far lesser importance have been brought out by this department during the last 55 years of its existance. Mr Mohibul-Hassan, however, has avoided any discussion on the authenticity of the MSS used by him or of their text. This important omission takes away much from the evaluations and inter pretations offered by the author in the chapters that follow.

Chapter II is devoted to the geography of Kashmir mostly based on Drew and Stein but very little effort has been made to discuss the topography in the manner characterestic of Cunnigham's "Ancient Geography of India" or Stein's "Ancient Geography of Kashmir". It, therefore, leaves much to be desired.

In chapter III after an interesting summing up of the political decadence characteristic of the reign of Simhadeva (1286-1301) and Suhadeva (1301-20) the author critically examines the origin and invasion of Zulju, Zulqadar Khan

of the later Persian chronicles of Kashmir. The author on the basis of references in Howorth (*History of the Mongols*) and Prawdin (*The Mongol Empire*) and Saif Mohammad (*Tarikh Nama-i-Hirat*) regards Zulju to be a pagan mongol who came from Turkestan and rejects the theses of Abul Fazal, Nizam-ud-Din Bakhshi and Fireshta who have like many of Kashmiri chroniclers described him as an officer of the ruler of Qandhar. His invasion is, accordingly, regarded as a continuation of the series of Mongol attacks during the period on the Northwestern India and Kashmir. The theory is convincing enough though not conclusive.

In the same chapter the author has conclusively indentified Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (1320-23) as Lhachen Gyalbu Rinchana, the son of Lhachend Ngos-grub who ruled over Ladakh from 1290. to 1320, on the basis of the authority of Traucke ("*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*" Vol. II). This theory does not in any way conflict with the views of the Persian Chroniclers though the latter could not precisely identify Prince Rinchana (Sultan Sadr-ud-Din), the founder of the Independant Sultanate of Kashmir. The author also rejects the statement of Jonaraja that Rinchana was refused to be converted to Shaivisim before his actual conversion to Islam.

The author admits that exaggerated and fantastic claims about Sultan Shah-ud-Din's conquests that we come across in Persian chronicles are not supported by contemporary authorities but, in spite of

it, ascribes the conquest of Baltistan, Dardistan, Ladakh, Kishtwar, Chamba and Jammu to the Sultan. Even this assertion appears to be too generous keeping in view the resources in men and material at the disposal of the Sultan and the difficulties of the terrain and means of communication and transport in these regions. The author has not cited any corroborative evidence from the local histories of Baltistan, Ladakh,. Kishtwar, Jammu or Chamba in support of his view.

In discussing the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) the author has very carefully skipped over the iconoclastic activities of the Sultan and ascribed them either to his Prime Minister, Saif-ud-Din or to the voluntary conversion of temples into mosques by the former devotees of Hindu Gods when they accepted Islam. A critical examination of the charges of the Brahman chroniclers has not, therefore, been attempted even inspite of the availability of "Tuhfatul-Ahbāb-fī-kasr-i-Auṭhān wa aṣnām" (noticed by the author on page 11 of this book) which describes with all the necessary detail the destruction of important Budhist and Hindu shrines like those of Parihaspur, commonly ascribed wrongly to Sikandar, at the hands of Mir Shams-ud-Din Irāqī and his sufis in the reign of Sultan Mohd. Shah [(ii) 1493-1505] and Sultan Fateh Shah [(ii) 1505-14], and the later ravages of the agents of denudation.

Chapter V is devoted to the study of Sultah Zain-ul-Ābidīn (1420-70), the greatest of the Kashmir

Sultans. Except for a few obvious mistakes of topography particularly on page 84 and 85 the chapter carefully consolidates all the available information about the Sultan but does not refer to the obvious failure of the Sultan to evolve an elaborate civil and military organization and redeem the country from the exploitation and ravages of feudal lords who mainly were responsible for the complete collapse of the sultanate within almost a hundred years of the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidīn. Even the oft-repeated rebellions of feudal Lords and princes both during and after the reign of the Sultan expose the tales of grandeur which the chauvinistic tendencies of Persian chroniclers have vainly tried to weave around the history of "Independent Kashmir" and suggest that often the direct rule of many of the Sultans did not extend beyond the bounds of Nawshehra and lower part of the modern city of Srinagar. The rest of the country was parcelled out among the big families of feudal exploiters who prospered through conspiracies and intrigues at the expense of the tillers of the soil and the common man.

The intercommunal marriages of Sultan Sikandar, Ali Shah and Zain-ul-Abidin especially with the Rajput princesses of the royal house of Jammu though mentioned in Kashmir chronicles relied upon by the author do not find any corroboration in the local history of Jammu which the author seems to have ignored.

Chapter VI to VIII are devoted to the study

of the internecine wars, rebellions, intrigues and shameless, treacheries of the period which constitute a very painful reading. Chapter IX brings the story to the close with the conquest of Kashmir by the Indian Imperialist press. The author has been successful identifying Biswak where Sultan Yusaf Shah Chak and Sultan Yaqub Chak lie buried in most dilapidated tombs. This has been possible on the testimony of Professor Hassan Askari, renowned scholar of Patna, who describes Biswak as a village 3 miles North East of Islampur in the Patna District. At a short distance from Biswak is a village Kashmiri Chak. a Kashmiri colony of old.

Chapter XI is devoted to the study of the administrative system. In the absence of any direct information it is more conjectural than real. Inspite of this obvious handicap it makes an interesting and useful reading.

Chapters XII and XIII decribe the social and economic conditions and cultural activities of the period and are perhaps the most interesting part of the book. It is, however, regrettable that a critical attempt has not been made to analyse the Central Asiatic and Iranian influences on the Kashmiris. The development of Persian language and literature has been disposed off in the most cursory references. The section on Kashmiri poetry is also very superficial for obivious reasons as the author had to rely on secondary sources. For example, when the author says: "Lalla came into contact with Syed Ali Hamadani and Nur-ud-

Din Reshi and learned of the doctrines of Islam and Sufism," he obviously repeats the mistake of Sir Richard Temple and himself ignores to compare the chronology of these three great figures of the successive periods. Similarly the statement that "under the influence of Persian Kashmiri grew richer and owing to the patronage it received at the hands of the Sultan it was able to develop a respectable poetic literature of its own", is more of a journalistic generalisation rather than the statement of an accurate scientific historical conclusion.

The book ends with useful and interesting appendices on the Nurbakhshiyas, currency, coinage, weights and measures, chronology and genealogy of the sultans and a good bibliography.

It is on the whole a very successful and praise-worthy attempt at the reconstruction of the history of Kashmir of a period most neglected. Mr Mohibul Hassan and the Iran Society deserve the thanks of all the lovers of Kashmir for this laudable and erudite work of original research.

—(**Sahibzada) Hassan Shah**

## 2. BUDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH *

The book under review saw the light of day about four years back when public interest in Buddism as a religion and in Kashmir and Ladakh as politically and strategically significant parts of India had reached its climax. It opportunely filled up a striking vacuum in the literature on Kashmir and was, therefore, hailed on all sides as a timely production in a field of research that had been altogether neglected in the past.

As indicated above, the book breaks completely virgin ground and such a task invariably bristles with tremendous difficulties. An idea of the prodigious amount of labour and research which has gone into the production of this work can be had, from the impressive array of the books listed under 'Bibliography' of which it is the essence distilled with rare art and consummate skill. This fascinating story of the varying fortunes of Buddism in this ancient land from the earliest times to the present day has been told in a lucid, racy style and divided into four parts under the following captions: (1) The Budha and his Gospel; (2) Budhism in Kashmir; (3) Budhism in Ladakh and (4) The present position. Including the index the book runs into 243 pages and considering the range and sweep of its contents, it is a remarkable feat of condensed writing. The narrative flows like a gently rippling placid stream on its even and stately course; incidentally

* Buddism in Kashmir & Ladakh : By J. N. Ganahar and P. N. Ganahar ; New Delhi, 1966; 243 PP, Roy. Oct. Rs. 16.00

presenting itself at the same time as a concise history of Kashmir in broad outline.

While the narrative follows in the main the wellworn track of historical tradition, it boldly cuts across it here and there striking new paths and treading on manifestly controversial ground. A brief review like the present one can hardly afford to take note of all controversial points or even to discuss the more outstanding of such points in detail. A passing reference to some of the latter is, however, unavoidable. Thus,for instance, on page 170 of the book occurs the statement : "Though from the close of the Karkota rule in Kashmir the Ladakhis have looked to Lhasa for spiritual guidance, yet they have much in common with the people inhabiting the valley". Does this statement imply that before the close of the Karkota rule, the Ladakhis looked for inspiration and guidance to Kashmir ? Where is the proof for this ? Is not the assertion that the Ladakhis have much in common with the people of Kashmir an overstatement ? Then follows the assertion ." In fact Budhism itself went to Ladakh from Kashmir ." This observation, too, unless supported by evidence, can hardly find acceptance with the critical enquirer. Who were the missionaries that took Buddhism to Ladakh from Kashmir and when ? Local tradition which would necessarily have enshrined the memory of such an event is altogether unaware of such evangical activity on the part of Kashmir in reference to Ladakh. The stupendous missionary work which the Kashmiri monks did in distant China is another story and this work, as is well

known, covered the period between the 3rd and 6th centuries of the Christian era and must be attributed to the tremendous fillip given by Kaniska to the propagation of the *Dharma* in the countries of the North as Asoka did in the case of those of the south. On the same page, (viz 170) the *mons* are stated to be the descendants, according to popular belief, of missionaries who first preached the Budhist faith in the country (Ladakh). Does not this statement contradict the hypothesis of Buddhism having gone to Ladakh from Kashmir? According to local tradition human habitations appeared in number in Ladakh when in long-past times waves of immigrants poured into Ladakh from three directions: the Aryan *Dards* from Dardistan, who brought their Buddhism with them from their original home; the *mons* also blieved to be Aryans from Kulu side who also took Buddhism with them to their adopted home, and the *mongolians* from Tibet who must have originally professed Bonism and were later converted by local or Tibetan missionaries

It is stated (on page 176) that Surendra, the first Buddhist ruler of Kashmir erected a vihara at Saurasa which the authors identify with present day Suru. This is immediately followed by the statement that Kalhana located this monastery named Narendra Bhavan near the country of Dards. As Suru is far far away from the 'Country of Dards' Kalhana's testimony clearly knocks the bottom out of the identification of Sauras with Suru.

(In Chapter XIX of the book) Fa Hien, the Chinese pilgrim is stated to have visited Ladakh about 400 A.D.

Indeed the Chapter itself appears under the title' Fia Hien in Ladakh'. This astounding thesis has been built up on the flimsy foundation of Alexander Cunningham's indentification of Kirchha with Ladakh, although four other eminent authorities mentioned in the book itself along with Cunningham hold entirely divergent views in regard to the identity of Kiachha. One of the arguments used by Cunningham to buttress his theory is that the pilgrim according to his own statement took a month to travel westward from Kiachha to North India and in terms of distance Ladakh answers to this description. As the pilgrim travelled west from Ladakh, he must have taken the Zojila route and if he did so he must have passed through Kashmir of which there is absolutely no evidence whatever.

The second argument advanced to uphold this theory is that Cunningham 'was able to trace in Ladakh two important relics of the Buddha mentioned by Fia Hien in Kiachha'. According to Cunningham one of these relics (the alms bowl) still exists in a temple to the north of Leh. But Ladakh also possessed a bowl of the Buddha which was formerly enshrined at Leh but is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher of Balti upwards of 200 years ago. Obiously Cunningham has been the victim of a disingenuous joke or he has misunderstood the information given him about these so-called relics. Is it conceivable that the temple supposed to enshrine the alms bowl would not have been a place of cherished pilgrimage and that the relic would not have been exhibited on some sacred day in the

year amid colourful celebrations and hearty rejorcings? Yet, nobody in Leh knows anything about them; at least no celebrations whatever are held in their honour. Even if Ali Sher had carried away the tooth relic. would the place where it had been enshrined, for that reason, lose its sanctity and cease to be a place of pilgrimage for the devout Buddhists ?

As a sample of the view held by historians on this point, we may appropriately reproduce the following relevant extract from Dr. Ishwari Prasad's History of India (page 106): Fa Hien was a Chinese pilgrim who came to India in search of MSS of Vinaya Pitaka. He entered India by way of Khotan, Gandhara and Taxila and crossed the Indus at Purushpur (Peshawar) and then proceeded to Mathura "

There are other statements in the book which call for comment in one form or the other, but limitations of space forbid any further discussion of its contents. As stated in the beginning of this review, the authors have blazed a new trail and laid the lines for further work in this field of research. The obscure spots in the vast panorama unfolded in the book must be subjected to the searchlight of close scrutiny and sustained research till the mists enveloping them are wholly cleared away. The book is, thus, not only a rich mine of information, but also a challenge to scholars and it is this characteristic of it which enhances its value immeasurably.

**—(Master) Shridhar Kaul**

## 3. THE WAY OF THE SWAN*

Impelled by a desire to understand and reveal 'Kashmir's role in the drama of India's thought and culture', Nilla Cram Cook follows a trail brilliantly blazed by savants all through the ages and eminent western scholars during the last one hundred years. She presents the life and culture of this "land embraced by the mountain's arms" through poems sung by her children for fourteen hundred years, from the *Nīlamata Purāṇam* down to our own day.

Professor J. L. Kaul was the first to present to the outside world in his *Kashmiri Lyrics* an idea of the main current of Kashmir's thought and spirit as revealed in lyrical poetry in Kashmiri from the days of Lal Ded and Sheikh Nurud Din to the early forties of the present century. But Miss Cook has drawn upon Sanskrit and Persian works in addition to Kashmiri poetry and the gems of thought and poetic expression have a bold philosophical and mystic motif. This is clear from the very title of the work which is drawn from Lalla's verse:

"Shiva ! Shiva ! the one who ever calls,

The way which is the Swan's ever recalls..."

[the formula *So-ham* (I am He) having been formed by transposition of the letters *hamsah*: the swan]. She expounds her thesis in a scholarly introduction.

Miss Cook has gone into the mythology of the rise of the world from waters. We are aware of the tradition of the lake Satīsar drained by the seer Kashyapa; which later

*The Way of the Swan (Poems of Kashmir) presented by Nilla Cram Cook;-Asia Publishing House Bombay; 1959; Rs. 10 50

became the beautiful valley of Kashmir. A similar tradition among the ancient Iranians has been traced by the authoress. Other similarities to this idea may be found in the regeneration of life on the earth after the Flood, the churning of the ocean, or the origin of life itself from the amoeba. The soul has to cross the waters of life and death in the way of the swan. "*For all things from the water We have made*" says Habibullah.

The influence of the literature of this mytho-history on the life and philosophy of the country has been considered in the introduction. Kashmir's contribution to philosophy lies in the development of the *śaiva* theory which was provoked, perhaps, as a monistic reaction against the nihilism of the later Buddhists. Outside Kashmir, in Central Asia and further west, a similar monistic reaction was gaining momentum as *Erfan* which is explained as "the *Bodhi* illumination in terms of an Islamic piety", and "a movement allied to Kashmir's monist reaction" against later Buddhism.

The authoress finds a close parallel between the poet philosophers of *Erfan* and *śaiva* writers of Kashmir. Says she, "The works of Jabir-ibn-Hayyan, the renowned eighth century alchemist of Baghdad, disciple of the Imām Jafar Sādiq, bear a close comparison with the writings of the first two generations of Vasugupta's disciples In the early eleventh century, Ibn Sīna (:Avicenna) and Abhinava Gupta present a single universe of angelic energies and logically related experiences of conciousness. Their systems may

be compared point by point, their technical vocabularies translated and exchanged with ease and accuracy....."

The two movements of the *Śaiva* philosophers and *Erfan* had their meeting place in Kashmir in the fourteenth century when Lal Ded and Shah-i-Hamdan stood face to face and recognised each other's depth and prowess as well as the affinities. Says the authoress, "And so it happend that the name of Muhammed came to Kashmir as an invocation of what it itself held dear, a love of life intense enough to regard all life as one, and a faith in salvation through knowledge."

The authoress thus traces the age-old secular concept of life in Kashmir to the fusion of the two streams of thought and practice represented by Śhaivism and Erfan. The bonds between the two were made stronger, consciously or otherwise, on the one hand, by King Zain-ul-ābidin, by inumerable local *rishis* and eminent intellectuals like Sarfi and on the other, by the readiness with which non-Muslims took to the study of Persian and the excellence acquired by them in its use. The basis of this culture is in tolerance, in humanism and not in an artificial uniformity evolved through gentle 'coercion' as used by Akbar the great which led to a reaction from the orthodoxy. "Had the example of Kashmir been followed (by Akbar), a secular India might have come into being then and there."

This scholarly introduction should encourage a good deal of research work. For instance, the significance of water in creation :

the source from which according to the mythologies of many countries, life begins and to which the world returns in dissolution, detailed comperative study of the *Saiva* philosophers and mystic India and of the *Erfan* in Arabia or Central Asia or Egypt. Likewise, the affinities between these two orders of humanists and those thrown up by Christianity in the West and Confucianism and Taoism in the East.

The poems presented in this volume are heralded with this quatrain of Sarfi from his Persian *DIWAN*

*O, Sarfi, as on every side a ray*

*Has fallen from His face to light the night,*

*Impossible it is for you to say*

*That Somnath has not the Kaba's light.*

This indwelling harmony, this unity in duality is the theme of the selections presented here. So life is sweet, an adventure well-worth going through. Whether it is the *Gopis* in Krishna Razdan's *Why Renounce the World*:

*Our love of Him is our austerity,*

*Our songs of Him end bleak severity...*

or Habib-ullah in the *Joyous Wine*:

*Whoever his true inner self discovers,*

*With drunken bliss and rapture overflows.*

or Wahab Khar in *The Angel's Dance*:

*And since I, too, have tried to glance*

*Upon the secret of man's being I kneel,*

*And lo! the angles have begun to dance.*

or Utpalacharya in *Communion Hymn*:

*Thou shinest forth and all things live and move;*

*Thou dancest in the joy which overflows*

*From self and all creation laughs and grows...*

*I would but see Thee in the festival*

*Of objects of the senses and the mind !*

or Habba Khatun in *GATHER VOILETS; O NARCISSUS*

*Rains have come, and fields and fruit-trees sing,*

*Spring has come, and love the Lord of spring.*

or Zinda Kaul in *My Lover Awaits* :

*One night there came with the late rising moon*

*A sweeter music from the songs of space,*

*A flower fragrance filled my dewelling place,*

*So beautiful the perfumed air became,*

*I asked, had my eternal lover come ?*

all live in hope and partake of the joy of living. In the words of the authoress, "Kashmir has regarded its own beauty as revelation of the true reality, and the object of its philosophy has been to restore the first pure order."

This unity of theme and sentiment is a great help in the study of the philosophic thought of Lalla whose *vakya* or sayings usually appear to be scattered in nature and want a linking cord. The burden of thought in the poems is the same : the approach to the Reality is direct and the outward differences in names, forms and modes of worship or insistence upon traditional morality lead nowhere.

Says Lalla :

*He only who has known that he is one*

*With every other but for change of name,*

*Who sees but one, will be the one alone*

*To find the God Supreme !*

So Aziz Darvesh :

*I..........*
*............saw above*
*And in a brighter dawn,*
*No Hindu and no musalman are there !*

and Habibulla asks:

*When faith is one in all, in all the same,*
*Why one is classed an infidel, apart,*
*Another called a Muslim, though the name*
*Is all that differs !*

The sentiment expressed by Utpalacharya eleven hundred years ago in the lines:

*If it were merit which Thou dids't demand,*
*It then were fair that Thou shouldst thus delay*
*The revelation of Thyself to me.*
*Thy grace on merit never did depend !*

obviously lays emphasis on love as a means of seeking unity with the Divine Soul. The same feeling is expressed by Zinda Kaul thus:

*"The man who seeks reward in the form of paradise and houris for religious duties is like one who dismantles a mosque to build a shop."*

and by Rasa Javidani, another contemporary poet as:

*Will He for a deed of merit paradise give?*
*And the Compassionate adopt a merchant's view ?*

Though love is in the gift of the Divine Giver:

*How may the devotee's heart suffused be*
*Unless the Lord bestows from whom seeks he.*

as said by Parmanand, it is for the seeker to coax and tease Him with the sincerety of his passion which ultimately annihilates space, time and matter:

*The lover is the one in whom desire*

*Has melted self to shine like heated gold.*

*The heart, transfixed by this radiant fire*

*In spacelessness the whole of space will hold.*

(Sheikh Nur-ud-Din)

*To love I have abandoned all, my soul,*

*My self, and God is pleased !*

(Habibullah)

It is wonderful to be a poet and tear the veils of numerous hearts. But in our days it is, indeed, most wonderful to present all the poetic graces of a literature known to a limited number of people in a language understood far more widely, and Miss Cook has done so. But the path of the translator is no primrose path, especially when attempting a transformation of the original in rhythmic graceful verse, and an idea here and a concept there does occasionally suffer. Zinda Kaul's "My Lover from Eternity Awaits" has been given the title *Nātaiyāri* or 'Unpreparedness' by the poet himself. In Miss Cook's version 'nor for your giving grieve' (P. 5) does not seem to cover the original of the poet:

*Tar con ada zāna bo tay kar myon*

nor the poet's own English rendering, "Your own welfare is my business, leave that to me." Likewise a very significant line of the original poem:

*Sāla ro'stuy āw bāla yār myon*

has been rendered as "I asked, had my eternal lover come?" Which obviously omits the word 'uninvited'. But such difficulties will always be found in rendering poetry from one language into another.

In spite of that, however *the Way of the Swan* is a creditable achievement and will be read with delight by all those who

are interested in the unveiled self-revalation of mystics, who seek to have an understanding of the thought and culture of this land of Rishis and who want to acquaint themselves with the delightful poetry of Kashmir.

—(**Prof.**) **S. L. Sadhu**

[Two copies of a relevant publication intended to be reviewed in these columns are invited. —Ed]

*Miscellanea :*

## 1 ROMAN & DEVANĀGARĪ TRANSLITERATION OF THE KASHMIRI ALPHABET

Now that the official script for *Kashmiri* has been finalised, the question of *Roman* and *Devanāgarī* transliteration of the *Kashmiri* sounds assumes a purely academic significance for purposes of linguistic studies.

After a number of preliminary experiments in the direction I have found it advisable to press the *apo strophe* (') into service as a modifying index : indicating the additional *Kashmiri* sounds akin to those of the *Roman* or the *Devanāgarī* vowel preceding the sign. So with the inverted comma (') for two cerebral sounds ṭ and ḍ.

Thus, for instance. :

aa for आ, the long of a.
ee for ई, the long of *i*.
oo for ऊ, the long of u.
a' or अ' for the short sound of e in **certainly**.
aa' or आ' (ा') for the long **i** in **bird** or **u** in **curd**.
u' or उ' (ु') for the short **u** in **occurence**.
oo' or ऊ' (ू') for the long of **u'**.
e' or ए' (े') for the short **e** in pen,.

o' or ओ' (ो') for the short **o** (*initial*) in **o' clock.**

-y or -य़् for an extremely short final **i.**

-w or -व़् for an extremely short final **u**

-ya or -य- for the semi-vowel y.

-wa or -व- for the semi-vowel w.

B. *Consonants* :

Ch for च as in **chum**.

Chh for छ as in **church-hall** (medial).

ts or च़ for the first s in '**boats sail**'.

tsh or छ़ for the aspirated च

*t'* for ट, and *d'* for ड.

The following passage will illuatrate the system further:

aami panu' so'dras
naavi chhas lamaan
kati bozi dai myon
me'ti diyi taar;
aamyan t'aakyan
pony zan shamaan
zuv chhum bramaan
garu' gatshu'haa'.

आमि पनु' सो'दरस नावि छस लमान
कति बोज़ि दय म्योन मे'ति दियि तार;
आम्यन टाक्यन पोन्य ज़न शमान
ज़ुव छुम ब्रमान गरु' गछु'हा'।

## II. A NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *Frontispice* : A fine portrait of Sheikh Noor ud-Dīn Nūrānī (popularly known as Nunda'er Ryo'sh), : the most highly revered patron saint of Kashmir (779 A.H. to 842 A. H. / 1377 A.D. to 1438 A. D.) The local colour of the painting is obvious from the *Kāngrī*; but the general treatment points out to a later Moghal period. The original painting in water-colour is in the private collection of Hakim Sayyid Shah Sahib of Āstan-e-Pāīn, Kashtawar, to whom our grateful thanks are due for allowing us to microfilm many pieces.

VI **Abhinavaguptācārya, [:the Gurunātha]** : A recent painting by an unknown artist who has tried to depict the Ācarya in his *āśrama* as described by *Madhurāja* in his *parāmarśa* (Cf. Verses 3-6). The great savant's integrative outlook on life is very well brought out in the poise between *rāga* (: attachment) and *virāga* (: detachment). Cf. his exhortation :

मा किंचित्त्यज, मा गृहाण, विलस
स्वस्थो यथावस्थितः !'

II-V. *Four Paintings from Bhadrawah* :

II. *Ardhanārīśvara* : A portrayal of the Almighty as a perfect synthesis of the male

and female aspects of the life principle, reminding us of *Kalidasa*'s famous invocation :

वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

and *Kalhaṇa*'s invocation in almost all the *taraṅgas* of his **Rājartaraṅgṇī**. The piece is in the *Pahārī* style with a pronounced influence of the *Basohli* school.

III & IV : Depict two lovely episodes from the **Kumārasambhava** of *Kalidasa* :

a. *Śiva*, in the garb of a *brahmacārī* goes to the penance-grove of *Pārvatī* and probes her, only to be categorically told that she would accept none but *Śiva* as her life-companion. *Śiva* remonstrates : न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत् ।

b. *Kāma* unnerved by *Śiva*'s austere grandeur derives fresh strength from the sudden appearance of *Pārvati*, and aims afresh at *Śiva* only to be reduced to ashes by the fire of indignation shooting forth from his third eye. The depiction of *Kāma* , here, reminds us of *Kalidasa*'s words :

ददर्श चक्रीकृतचारुचापं
प्रहर्तुमभ्युद्यतमात्मयोनिम् ॥

V. *Nāgapāl* : the last independant ruler of Bhadrawah, whose valiant defiance of *Akbar* the Great, has been traditionally handed down to us in a popular legend. That indeed, is the evidence of the *Paṭ mela*, celebrated every year in the Bhadrawah town in the first fortnight of September. It is on this very occasion that we find the *Kuḍ* dancers at their best. The original painting belongs to Sri *Sant Ram* the *Lambardar* of Bhadrawah Khas, to whom our thanks are due for kind permission to take a microfilm.

VII, VIII : Two pages from the fragments of a neatly written caligraphic MS of *Sūrdasa's Sūrasāgara* (in the Persian script) with an interlinear word-for-word translation into easy unorthodox Persian. Palaeographically the MS does not appear to be more than a century old. Most probably it was written during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign when interlinguistic translations were very zestfully encouraged both by the patron as well as his nobles and courtiers. The interlinear Persian translation, here, appears to be the work of a Hindu scholar, as is clearly indicated by the diction in :

*har Keh rā har ceh* **svabhāv** *bāshed*
(line 2); or

*ān* ishar *hameshe buzurg*... (line 8).

Similarly *soī prabh* is rendered as *ān īshar* and *abigat* as *parameshar*. That speakes fairly well of the linguistic sanity and cultural soundness of our ancestors even a century ago. Incidentally the MS throws light on the popularity of *Surdasa's* devotional lyrics in Kashmir from the musical point of view, as is clear from the titles: the names of classical *rāgas* like *Kānhrā*, *gaurī* and *pūrbī*.

ED.

[*Note* : *PEEPS INTO MSS could not be given in the present issue owing to lack of space*.]

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

1. The Burjhama Excavations (in Kashmir)
2. Dogri Folk lore
3. Satire in Kashmir
4. Samvit in Śaivism
5. Textual Reconstitutions [: *Tantrasāra etc*.]
6. In search of Manuscripts [with *Peeps into some of them*]
7. The Earliest Traces of the Kashmiri Language
8. Is Dogri a Dialect of Panjabi ?
9. More than a dozen plates of rare paintings and illustrations etc. etc.

Plate No. II



Ardhan*ārīś*vara

[जगत : पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ]

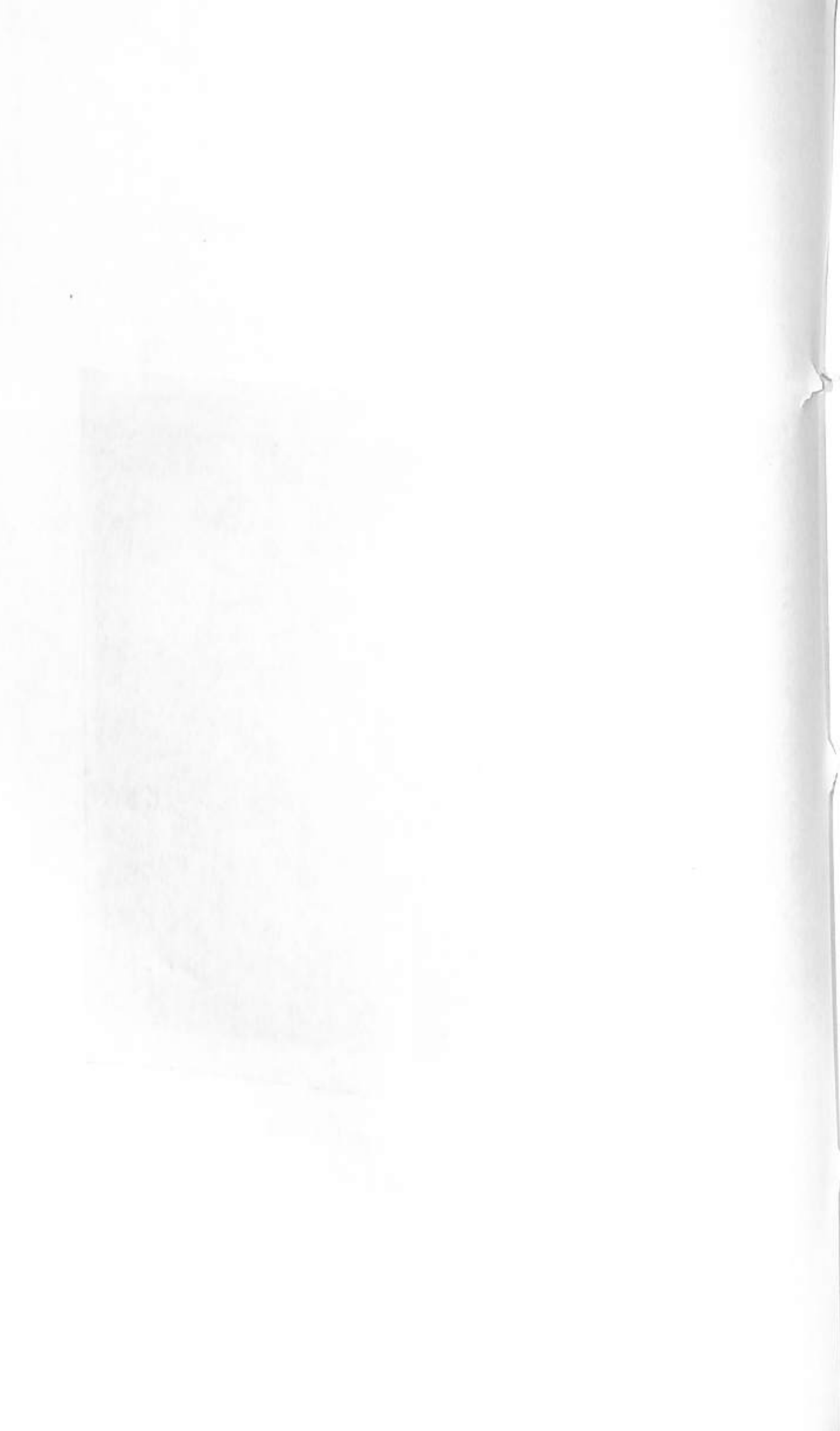


Plate No. III



Śiva Probing Pārvati

[न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत् ]

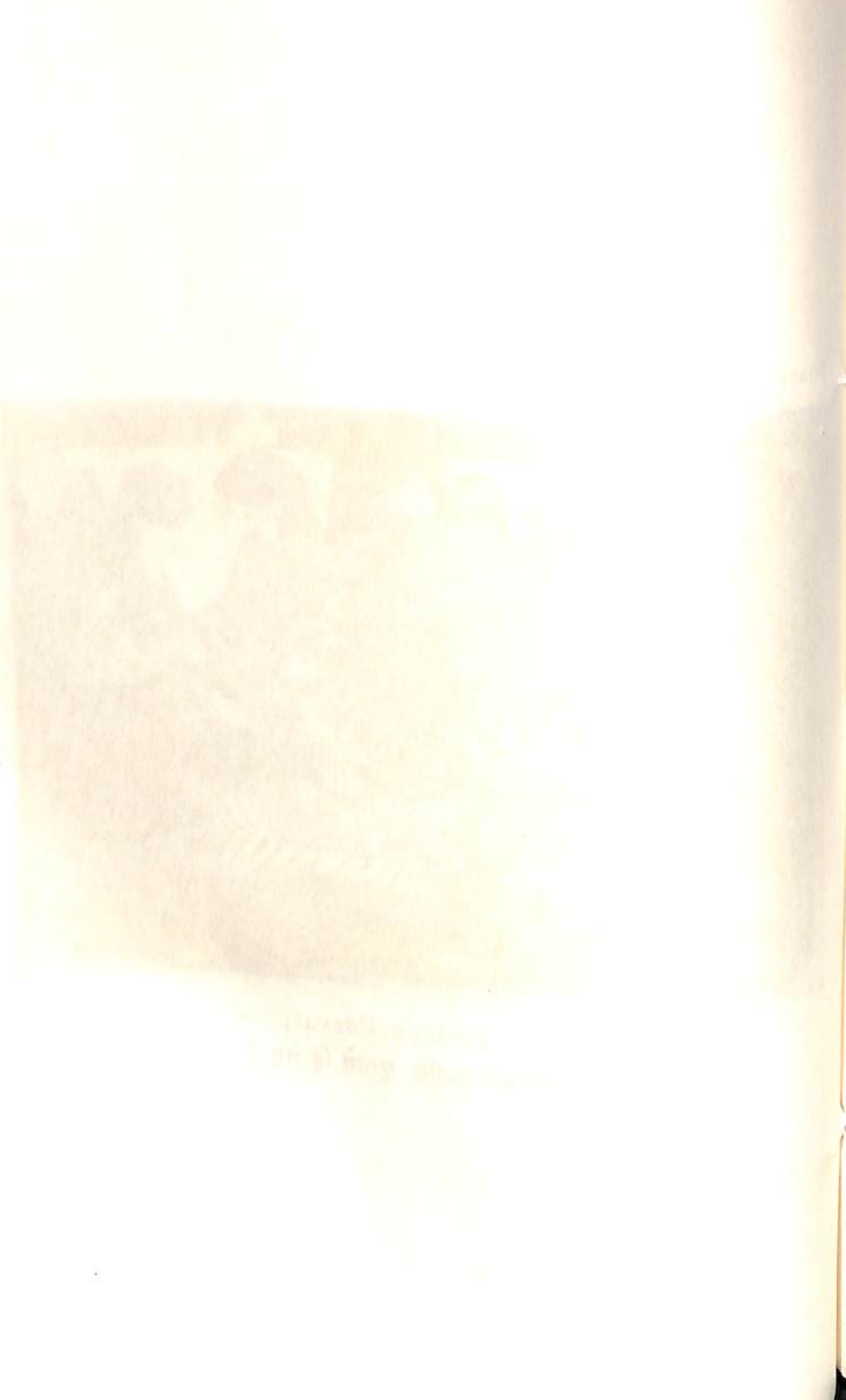


Plate No. IV



Kāma Takes An Aim Again

[कामस्तु बाणावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य...]

Plate No. V




Nāgapāla, the last Independant Ruler of Bhadrawah



# GURUNĀTHA-PARĀMARŚA
## OF MADHURĀJA

—o—

**PREFATORY:**

The text edited here is based on the following:

(a) Devanāgarī Transcripts:

(1) L: Kindly loaned out by Brahmacārī Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa of the *Īśvara*-Āśrama (Ishabar), Srinagar. (Copied out by him in 1925 from a Devanāgarī transcript belonging to a *gṛhasthī mahātmā* of Madras.)

(2) R: belonging to the Research Library, Srinagar. (Strictly speaking, just a copy of L retouched, here and there, by the late Sri M. S. Koul, Superintendent of the Department.)

(b) C: (Ms D No. 15323 of the Sanskrit College, Tripunittura, Cochin) as utilized by Dr V. Raghavan in his edition of the work, published in the JOR, Madras.

Now a collation of a and *b* reveals that neither can be regarded as completely authentic; the two versions appear to be complementary to each other. Only twenty-eight [1] verses are common to both. While eighteen[2] are peculiar to R (and L), C has an addition of nineteen.[3] Mysteriously enough both these addenda (to the common stock) are more or less characterized by specific references to *Abhinavagupta*. Thus, out of the eighteen peculiar to a, only two stanzas (Nos 1 and

1. Nos: 7, 8, 10-32 and 34-36
2. Marked * in the the text, here.
3. Cf App. 1

33) do not e y mention *Abhinava,* though the allusion is there. Of the remaining stanzas, Nos: 2-6, 9, 37 and 38 mention him as *Abhinava* or *Gurunātha*; Nos: 39-44 mention *Mādhura* or *Madhurāja*, the poet; while Nos: 45 and 46 mention both the preceptor and the pupil.

Similarly nine [4] out of the nineteen verses peculiar to C refer to *Abhinava-Bhāratī* : his celebrated commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata.* Of the remaining ten very few have a direct bearing on the poem itself. Have these been drawn from some other work or works by the poet? Or, even wrongly ascribed to him by some early copyist? No categorical statement on this point is possible as long as a more complete Ms of the work is not discovered.

Anyway, the present version is published in the hope that it positively records a further step in the direction of establishing the text of the original poem by *Madhurāja* of Madhurā (modern Madurai), and also throws some light on Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse even with very remote parts of our country.

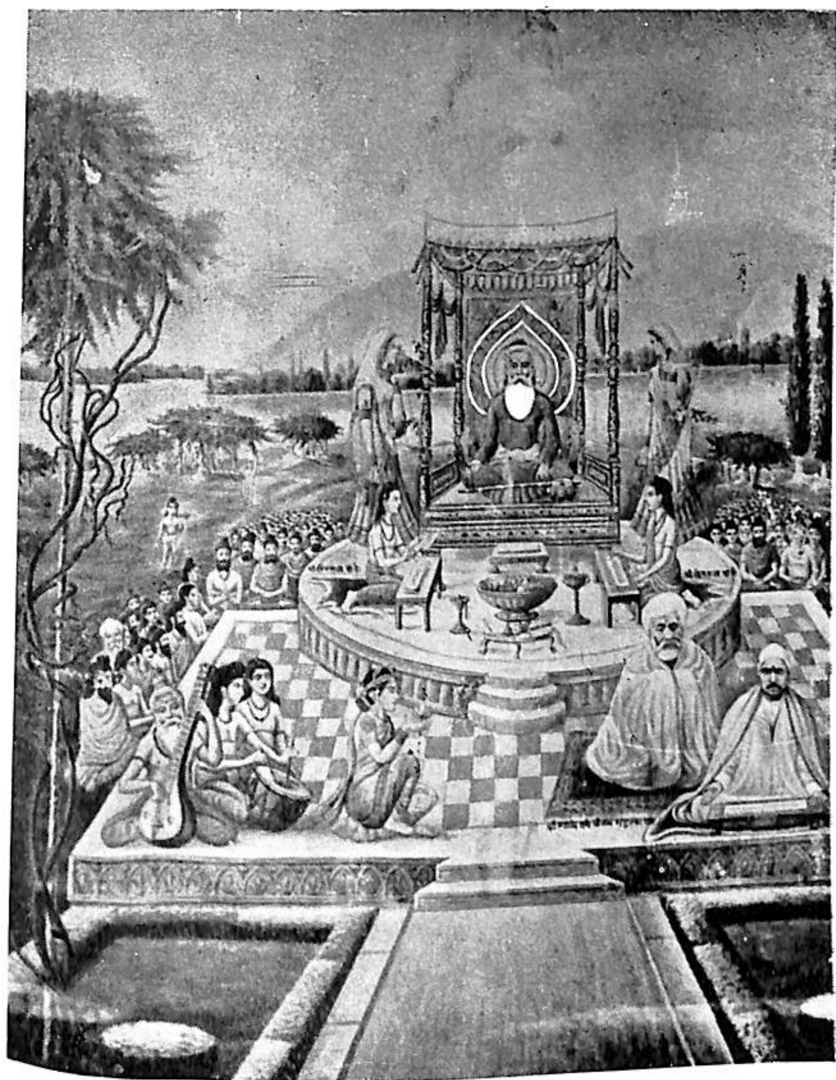
Our grateful aknowledgements are due to Brahmachari Rajanaka Lakshmana for readily placing his transcript at our disposal, and to Dr V. Rāghavan whose edition we have profitably consulted and quoted.

*Srinagar,*
*Aug. 15,'60.*

**—P. N. Pushp**

4. Nos: 1-9 (App. I)

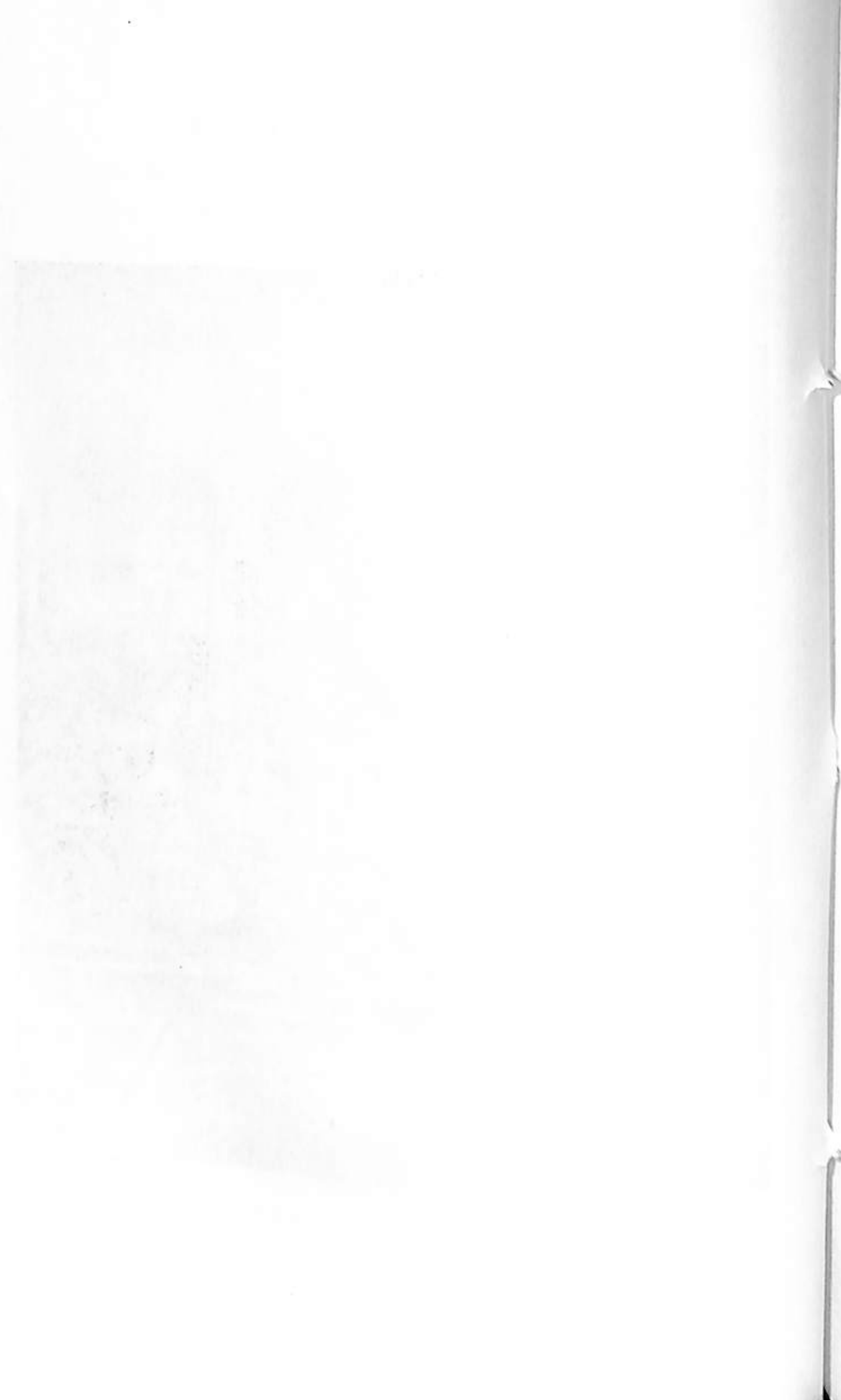
Plate No. II



Abhinavaguptācārya

(: the Gurunātha)

[Tenth Century A. D.]



अथ

## मधुराजयोगिविरचितः

# श्री गुरुनाथपरामर्शः

—०—

सदसदनुग्रहनिग्रहगृहीतमुनिविग्रहो भगवान् ।
सर्वासामुपनिषदां *दुर्वासा* जयति देशिकः[1] प्रथमः ॥१॥ *

श्री*वसुगुप्तमहागुरु-सोमानन्दप्रभूत्पलाचार्यान्* ।
*अभिनवगुप्तं* नाथं वन्दे श्री*क्षेमराज*ञ्च ॥२॥ *

द्राक्षारामस्य मध्ये स्फटिकमणिमये मण्डपे चित्ररम्ये
पुष्पस्रग्धूपदीपैर्बहलपरिमले चर्चिते चन्दनाद्यैः ।
वाद्यैर्गीतैः सनृत्तैः सततमुखरिते योगिनीसिद्धसङ्घै-
राकीर्णे स्वर्णपीठे मृदुतमविलसद्बद्धमुक्तावितानें ॥३॥ *

आसीनः *क्षेमराज*प्रभृतिभिरखिलैः
सेवितः शिष्यवर्गैः
पादोपान्ते विषण्णैरवहितहृदयै-
रुक्तमुक्तं लिखद्भिः ।
द्वाभ्यां पार्श्वस्थिताभ्यां शिवरस-
[सरकं[2]] पूर्णताम्बूलपेटीं
दूतीभ्यां बिभ्रतीभ्यामपरकरलस-
न्मातुलुङ्गोत्पलाभ्याम् ॥४॥ *

आनन्दादोलिताक्ष[ः][3] स्फुटकृततिलको भस्मना भालमध्ये
रुद्राक्षोल्लासिकर्णः कलितकचभरो मालया लम्बकूर्चः ।
रक्ताङ्गो यक्षपङ्कोल्लसदसितगलो लम्बमुक्तोपवीतः
क्षौमं वासो वसानः शशिकरधवलं वीरयोगासनस्थः ॥५॥ *

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*Verses peculiar to R (& L);

1. दैशिकः (L); 2. करकं (R & L); 3. -ताक्षस्फुट (R & L).

जान्वासक्तैकहस्तः स्फुटपरमशिवज्ञानमुद्राक्षसूत्रो
वामश्रीपाणिपद्मस्फुरितनखमुखैर्वादयन्नादवीणाम् ।
श्रीकण्ठेशावतारः परमकरुणया प्राप्तकश्मीरदेशः
श्रीमान्नः पातु साक्षाद*भिनव*वपुषा दक्षिणामूर्तिदेवः ॥६॥ ❀

यत् सारस्वत[रस[1]] सिद्ध एव शुद्धः
सर्वोऽध्वा[2] विलसति वाच्यवाचकात्मा ।
काश्मीरो[3] जयति जगद्धितावतारः
स श्रीमान*भिनवगुप्त*देशिकेन्द्रः ॥७॥ ❀

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतपरमरसास्वादमोदमानानाम् ।
अमृतमपि दत्तममरैररुचिकृदस्माकमारनालमिव ॥८॥

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतपर्वतशिखराधिरूढहृदयानाम् ।
मातङ्गवदतितुङ्गं मशकवदाभात्यधःस्थितं सकलम् ॥६॥

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतपरिमलबहला[4]धिवासिते जगति ।
सङ्क्रन्दनोऽपि निन्दति नन्दनहरिचन्दनामोदम् ॥१०॥

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतचन्द्रातपचर्चिते जगति ।
कथमिव तमःकथा वा तापकथा वा प्रगल्भते स्थातुम् ॥११॥

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतरसवेधितहृदयधातूनाम्[5] ।
प्रसृमरषोडशवर्णकसौवर्णमयं प्रकाशते विश्वम् ॥१२॥

*अभिनव*गुरुसारस्वतमार्तण्डमरीचिपरिचयोन्निद्रे ।
हृत्पुण्डरीककुहरे निवसति नियमेन मोक्षलक्ष्मीर्नः ॥१३॥

*अभिनव*गुरुमुखपद्मप्रसृतशिवाद्वैतशीधुशील[नया[6]] ।
प्रशमित[7]पाशवशासनशङ्कातङ्का सुखेन विहरामः ॥१४॥

1. -स्वतसिद्ध ((R & L); -स्वतरससिद्ध (C); 2. ऽद्धा (C);
3. काश्मीरी (C); 4. बहुला-(C); 5. धातृणाम्;
6. शीलनद्या (R), शीलाया: (L); 7. पाशवशासौ चिन्ता (C).

निजहृदयकुहरनिहितस्फुरद*भिनवगुप्त*वाङ्मयधनानाम्[8] ।
अस्माकमात्मविदुषामव्याहतमेव सहजमैश्वर्यम् ॥१५॥

*अभिनव*परमेश्वरप्रसादात्
स्वहृदयसंनिहितात्मदेवतानाम् ।
जडघटपटताम्रकाञ्चनाश्म—
प्रभृतिषु न प्रतिमासु पूजनास्था ॥१६॥

*अभिनव*परमेश्वरप्रसादा-[9]
दपगतभौतिकविग्रहाग्रहाणाम् ।
परधनहरणादिपापचिन्ता
परपुरुषाणि वचांसि वा कथं स्युः ॥१७॥

सिद्धान्तवामभैरवयामलकौलत्रिकैकवीरविदाम् ।
*अभिनवगुप्तः* श्रीमानाचार्यपदे स्थितो जयति ॥१८॥

यो मेलने क्वचन देशिकयोगिनीना-
मद्यप्रभृत्यखिल एष गुरुक्रमौघः ।
त्वय्येव सङ्क्रमित इत्युपलालितो भू-
त्तस्मै नमोऽ*भिनवगुप्त*गुरूत्तमाय ॥१९॥

पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्ली
*पञ्चाशिका* परमकारुणिकेन येन ।
प्रोक्ता त्विहा[10]द्वयनये जनतां[11] नियोक्तुं
तस्मै नमोऽ*भिनवगुप्त*गुरूत्तमाय ॥२०॥

ग्रन्थं[12] *कथामुखमहातिलका*भिधानं[12a]
न्यायोक्तषोडशपदार्थनिरूपणाभिः ।

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8. धनानाम् (C); 9. वीराणाम् (C); 10. निजा (C); 11. ऽञ्जनतां (C); 12. ग्रन्थः (C), obviously corrupt; 12a. —धानः (C).

यो वादिनां व्यरचयद्विजयाय वादे
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरूत्तमाय ॥२१॥

अभिनवगुप्तनाथलिखितं लिखितं हृदये
तदितरशास्त्रकारलिखितं लिखितं सलिले ।
स्वहृदयदेवतामुखहुतं हुतमग्निमुखे
तदितरदेवतासु निहितं निहितं भसिते ॥२२॥

श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तः[13] सत्यं श्रीकण्ठनाथ एवेति ।
प्रतिपद्यतामितरथा व्याख्यातृत्वं कथं भवेदित्थम् ॥२३॥

अभिनवसहकारमञ्जरीयं मधुमधुरं निजसौरभं वमन्ती ।
रसयति नहि केवलं वसन्तं सकलमतीतमनागतञ्च कालम् ॥२४॥

अभिनवगुप्तमुखेन्दोरमृतकल्लोलासिसुन्दरादुदिता ।
ज्ञानेन्दुकौमुदी नः पूर्णं पुष्णातु शिव [भोगम्][14] ॥२५॥

अञ्जनेन हृदये ममाञ्जिते
भञ्जनेन भववासनारुजाम् ।
दृश्यतेऽभिनवगुप्तदेशिकः
सञ्चितः शिवनिधिः पदे पदे ॥२६॥

गुरवे नमो गुरूणामभिनवगुप्ताय वृद्धवैद्याय[15] ।
विश्वशिवाद्वयशीलनविध्युपदेशोपशामितविश्वरुजे ॥२७॥

अभिनवगुप्तदेशिक[16] मुखोद्गतसूक्तिसुधासुरतटिनी ।
प्रवाहलहरीलवमात्रमपि श्रुतिसरणिं पवित्रयति
यस्य स एव कृती[17] ॥२८॥

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13. गुप्ताचार्यः (C);
14. or [ योगम् ]; भोगम् (C); शिवदोगम् (L); शिवाद्वयोद्योगम् (R);
15. मेद्याय (L); 16. दैशिकः (L);
17. C adds यदि हृदयं प्रविष्टमथ किं शिव एव हि सः ।

मधुरा[18] महेश्वकथामकरन्दधुनी
परिमलमज्जनध्वनिपवित्रितभक्तजना ।
*अभिनवगुप्त*नाथवदनाम्बुजवाग्भ्रमरी
शिव शिव गाढं[19] मूढमपि मां मुखरीकुरुते ॥२६॥

*अभिनवगु*प्तयुक्तिपरिशीलनपाटवत-
स्त्रुटितसमस्तसंशयतमःपटले हृदये ।
मुकुर[20] इवाभाति मुखमण्डल[21]मखण्डमिदं
यदि[22] हृदयं प्रविष्टमप्य किं शिव एव हि सः ॥३०॥

मनसैव गम्यते या परिपन्थिन एव पालका यस्याम् ।
प्रतिपदविश्रान्तिमयी पद्धतिरियम*भिनवा* जयति ॥३१॥

चमत्कुर्वन्तु मां सर्वे न्यक्कुर्वन्त्वथवा बुधाः ।
न मद्गुर्वधिकः कश्चिद्विपश्चिच्छिवनिश्चये ॥३२॥

व्याप्तः परे नभसि भाति रवीन्दुयोगा-
न्मध्येपथं महति तेजसि दीप्यमाने ।
मद्देशिकः[23] परमकारुणिकः पुनर्मे
चिद्देवतावपुरसौ हृदये चकास्ति ॥३३॥*

दत्तक्षणेन भविनां[24] मलजालशुद्धौ
सिद्धौषधेन *गुरुनाथ*निरीक्षणेन ।
विद्धः क्षणेन यदहं निजहृद्गुहायां
सौवर्णपूर्णसकलावयवोऽस्मि तस्मात् ॥३४॥

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18. मधुरं (C); 19. गाढमूढम्-(as emended by Dr V. Raghavan); 20. मुकुरा (C); 21. —मण्डम्—(C); 22. L gives this line as the first of the stanza while C adds it on to V 28, rearranging the verse into a KOKILAKA stanza (of 4 lines); 23. दैशिकः (L); 24. भविना (L).

वस्तुनि वस्तुनि योऽसौ निवसति कार्तस्न्येन कार्तस्न्येन ।
विस्मयनिधये तस्मै नमो नमः श्रीमते गुरवे ॥३५॥

गुरुरेव शिवः शिवत्वदायी
न परः कर्मवशेन भोगदाता ।
शिव एव गुरुः कृपात्तमूर्त्तिः
पशुपाशच्छिदिहान्यथा कथं स्यात् ॥३६॥

अभिनवोत्पलसौरभसंस्कृतं
रसयतः *शिवदृष्टिरसायनम्* ।
इह सदैव सदैव निरामयं
हृदयमस्तु मम प्रतिभामयम् ॥३७॥❀

चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।
पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति *गुप्तमध्यापि* ॥३८॥

विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन
निस्तीर्णभीमतरभैरवधीप्रवाहः ।
अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते
वाचा सुधारसमुचा सह *माधुरोऽहम्* ॥३९॥❀

शक्तित्रयैकशरणे पराक्रमाक्रान्तविश्वदिक्चक्रे ।
*मधुराजे* मयि जीवति अनश्वरं नूनमीश्वराद्वैतम् ॥४०॥❀

दण्डकमण्डलुकर्परकन्था-
मात्रपरिच्छदगात्रकुटुम्बः ।
खण्डनमण्डनतुल्यमतिः सन्
वीरमते रमते *मधुराजः* ॥४१॥❀

कक्षारोपितभिक्षः[25] कर्परकन्था कमण्डलुर्दण्डी ।
रक्षावगुण्ठिततनुर्व्याख्यायतनेषु *माधुरश्चरति* ॥४२॥❀

25. भिक्षातत्परकन्था (L).

नवनवगद्यपद्यमयसूक्तिसहस्रसुधारस--
घनसारसौरभवशीकृतविश्वधियः ।
अविरतमुन्मिषन्तु हृदये हृदये विदुषां
शिवपदकिङ्करस्य *मधुराज*कवेः कृतयः ॥४३॥❀

परचिदमृतपायी पंचकृत्यांनपायी
पशुपतिपददायी पार्वती संप्रदायी ।
जितकरणनिकायो नित्यनीरोगकायो
विहरति *मधुराजो* योगिनां राजराजः ॥४४॥❀

मधुर*माधुर*भाषितभूषिता
सहृदयश्रुतिपद्धतिरुद्धता ।
*अभिनवै*र्नवभिर्भरितं रसै-
रमृतमुद्वमति स्वकजिह्वया ॥४५॥❀

शिवहृदयनराजीवान्मधुरं *मधुराज*वदनराजीवात् ।
*अभिनव*रसभरितं सारं सारस्वतं मधु स्रवति ॥४६॥❀

**इति महायोगीश्वर-मधुराज-कवि-विरचितः**
**श्रीगुरुनाथ परामर्शः**

**समाप्तः**

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# APPENDIX I

## Additional Verses According to *MS* C
## (as edited by Dr V. Raghavan).

—:०:—

1. स्वच्छन्दप्रंसृमरगद्यपद्यविद्या-
   वैशद्यप्रकटिततत्तदागमार्थाः ।
   पाशच्छित्परमशिवाद्वयोपदेशैः
   पान्त्वस्मानभिनवगुप्तपादाः ॥१॥

2. तर्षं यश्शमयति वाङ्मयोघवर्षैः
   भक्तानां भवमरुमार्गचङ्क्रमोत्थम् ।
   हर्षं वः प्रदिशतु सच्चिदम्बरस्थः
   स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तकालमेघः ॥२॥

3. सङ्कोचं दलयति हृत्सरोरुहाणां
   गोभिर्यस्सकलदिगन्तसर्पिणीभिः ।
   आलोकं दिशतु दृशामलौकिकं नः
   स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तनाथसूर्यः ॥४॥

4. यस्तापं हरति तमांसि च स्वभासा
   स्वच्छात्मा सकलकलाकलापपूर्णः ।
   आनन्दं दिशतु दृशाममन्दमन्तः
   स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तनाथचन्द्रः ॥५॥

5. एकद्वयाद्ययुगपक्षपरप्रमाणैः
   संक्षेपविस्तरकृतैर्वचसां प्रबन्धैः ।
   योऽन्वग्रहीत स सुकुमारसुसूक्ष्मबुद्धिः
   तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरूत्तमाय ॥६॥

6. षट्त्रिंशदाह्निकमित भरतोक्तनाट्य-
वेदं रसैरुपचितं नवभिर्विवृण्वन् ।
यो भारतीमभिनवां रचयाञ्चकार
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरूत्तमाय ॥ १० ॥

7. दिशि दिशि विहराम्यहं वीतशंकाकलंकस्सुखं
भगवति परमेश्वरेऽनुत्तरे भक्तिमात्मनि ।
स्फुरदभिनवगुप्तनाथाननाम्भोजवाग्वाहिनी-
रसपरिमलमज्जनोन्मज्जनानन्दलीलापरः ॥३०॥

8. महामहेश्वरश्रीमदाचार्याभिनवोक्तयः ।
हृदये प्रतितिष्ठन्तु प्रतिष्ठन्तां पशूक्तयः ॥३१॥

9. सदाभिनवगुप्तवागमृतपानगोष्ठीरसात्
पराकृतसमस्तपाशवविकल्पनाविप्लवम् ।
मम त्वयि निवेशितं मयि तवापि मग्नं मनः
परस्पररसास्पदं भुवि परेश संपद्यताम् ॥ ३३ ॥

10. इष्टपोषणमनिष्टसंभृतस्तोषणं तदुभयात्मकं वरम् ।
वारि वह्निमयमर्थिने ददद् देव एव वरदो
महान् भवान् ॥ ३४ ॥

11. या चिदुल्लसति विश्व-सत्तया सा शिवोऽहमिति
विश्वसत्तया ।
आकलय्य सकृदेव मुच्यते देशिकैरसकृदेवमुच्यते
॥ ३८ ॥

12. अन्तस्स्थोर्ध्वज्वलनकलयात्यूष्मलं शैवसिद्धं
यत्तज्ज्योतिःपदमुदयतो वाङ्मयं ग्रस्तुकामः ।
स्वोन्मेषोर्मिस्फुरितभरितानुत्तरानन्दसान्द्रं
पश्यन्तस्मिन् परमकवयः पाणिने सद्यसूत्रे ॥ ३९ ॥

13 विश्वं तुरीये चित्सूत्रे वाकृछक्त्यात्मनि गुम्फितम् ।
इत्युपादिशदस्माकं पाणिनिः परमो गुरुः ॥ ४० ॥

14. अस्पृष्टपूर्वोत्तरकर्मयोगमिदं कृतं पश्चिममेव येन ।
तद्दक्षिणीकृत्य शिवाय तस्मै निवेदितं मे गुरवे
शरीरम् ॥ ४१ ॥

15. जीवन्नेव शिवोऽस्मि सद्गुरुगिरा ज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिभिः
ज्ञानेन प्रतिपादितेन जनवत् सक्लिष्टमानोऽप्यहम् ।
प्रारब्धाखिलपूर्वकर्मसदसद्भोगोपभोगक्षयात्
देहेऽस्मिन् पतिते चराचरजगत्स्वात्मा स एवेश्वरः
॥ ४३ ॥

16. श्रीमद्देशिकदृक्कटाक्षलहरीसंघट्टमात्रत्रुट-
न्मायीयाणवकार्मपाशपटलस्पष्टीभवद्दृष्टयः ।
स्वच्छस्वात्मविमर्शदर्पणतले विश्वं विमृश्य स्फुर-
त्स्वेच्छासंहृतिसर्गकेलिरसिकाः स्वैरं चरामो वयम्
॥ ४४ ॥

17 देशिकवागुपदेशविनश्यद्देहमरुन्मतिशून्यविकल्पो ।
अद्वयबोधविमर्शमयस्सन्नद्य शिवोऽस्मि शिवोऽस्मि
शिवोऽस्मि ॥ ४५ ॥

18. न वेदवेदाङ्गपरिश्रमो मे न तर्कशिक्षा न च कार्यशिक्षा ।
तथापि तावत् परिमार्ष्टि मौढ्यं गुरूपदेशप्रति-
पत्तिदार्ढ्यम् ॥ ४६ ॥

19. जाणं काणं कुणंतो णं जीवंताणंशि(सि) वत्तणम् ।
वाचाहीणो विआजेणं (ण) नि(ण) च्चपुण्णो
स देशि(सि)ओ ॥४७॥
[येषां केषां कुर्वन्ननु जीवतां शिवत्वम् ।
वाचा हीनो व्याजेन (?)नित्यपूर्णस्स देशिकः ॥]

—:o:—

## APP. II

### A Note on Madhurāja

Madhurāja, the author of the **Gurunātha-Parāmarśa** was, according to his own statement, a **mādhura** : he hailed from **madhurā** ( present-day Madurai in South India)). He was a *yogi* (:योगिनां राजराज:)[2] of the *Pāśupata* ?) *sampradāya*, and moved[3] from place to place without any personal belongings except a staff (दण्ड:), a water vessel (कमण्डलु:), an earthen bowl (कर्पर) and a patchwork blanket (कन्था). He was equally proficient[4] in *khaṇḍana* (: smashing false wisdom) and *maṇḍana* ( : establishing truth). He appears to have been the author of a number of works (कृतय:) both in prose and verse, and his skill in versification is fairly corroborated by the present *praśasti* : his tribute to the *Ācārya* (: Preceptor) at whose feet he studied[5] the *Śaiva* doctrine for four years. He had approached him when he (: the pupil) was running the seventy-fourth year of his life. He looked[6] upon the great savant as **Dakṣiṇāmūrti** reborn in Kashmir. He seems to have been deeply impressed[7] by the

1. Cf. Verse 39; 2. Verse 44; 3. Verse 41 4. Verse 43;
5. Verse 38-39; 6. Verse 6; 7. Verse 37.

*Āchārya's* exposition of *Utpala's Śivadṛṣṭi*, perhaps presented by him in the (now lost) **Śivadṛṣṭi-locana.** Two other works of *Abhinava*, lost to us now, are mentioned by Madhurāja, namely: **Pañcāśikā**[8] and **Kathāmukhamahātilaka**[9]. Of these the latter is perhaps referred to by *Abhinava* himself in his **Parātriṃśikā**[10], while the former is a new name. Dr Raghavan rightly identifies[11] it with **Paryanta-pāñcāśikā.**

Finally a word about the *forte* of the **Parāmarśa** : The pen-portrait [2] of *Abhinavaguptācārya* in the arcadian *melieu* of his *āśrama* lit up by his spiritual radiance is so vivid and superb, and gives a convincing peep into the integrated porsonality of the great *Ācārya.*

—*P. N. Pushp*

●

8. Verse 20; 9. Verse 21; 10. K.T.S. 18, p 138; p 334;
11. JOR, Madras XIV, 12. Veses 3-6.

Plate No. VIII

یہ تن جن جگدیس رچیو ہے

این وجود را کسی که آفریده

سوئی پربہہ آپ پالیں کہت سن پریتم جواب پچھو ہے

کال کرم گت نت سندلی اگمت آن پچھو ہے

تدپ پرم گن خان کربانده اپنو انش کچھو ہے

یہہ سنسار دوارا جیون مایا رنہہ بچھو ہے

این دنیا مانند چوب تیور مایا این را میگرداند

سورداس ان کاج بہت مدہ ہرم ات تم محو ہی

راگ پوربی

جیوت ہی جن مکت بہئے

در زندگی آنہا که نجات یافتند

تیری نام لوان جد ہی تہاری سرن گئے

امبرکمیپر ہلاد بیکھن وہر دنار دنکہ بیاس

Another Page

From Persian Sūrasāgara

Plate No. VII

راگ کانہرا

راگ گوری

A Page
From Persian Sūrasāgara

# KALĀM-e-SĀDIQ

*PREFATORY* :

The text of the *Kalām-e-Sādiq* is based on a single MS (belonging to our Research Library) in the *Khat -e Shikast* ( : an extremely cursive hand). A few folios have been marginally eaten away by worms and that made the reading of the text an extremely difficult endeavour. Happily for us, while the *kitabat* sheets were being scrutinized a MS of the Dīwan-e-Sādiq (belonging to Sri Qaisar Qalandar of Srinagar) came to our notice; and even at such a late stage we could ascertain the authenticity of our departmental MS. We are grateful to Sri Qalandar for having permitted us a few hurried peeps into his proud possession, and we hope to be afforded a more leisurely chance of studying the *Dīwan-e-Sādiq*.

Anyway, even as it stands, the *Kalām-e-Sādiq* speaks highly of **Shāh Sādiq Qalandar's** command over his medium, in spite of the traces of decadence which were characteristic of the period (:mid of the XVII cent.) to which he belonged. His handling of the main *genre* of Persian versification such as *tarjī-band*[1]

1, Cf. Text, Pp 1 & 10.

*muthallas*[2], *ghazal*[3], *mathnavī*[4] and even *mustezād*[5] betrays no mediocrity.

The earliest mention of **Shāh Sādiq**, that has come down to us, is that by **Ahmad Ibn-us-Sabūr Kashmiri** in his *Khawārīq-us-sālikīn*[6] (1108 A.H.) only eight years after the poet's death (in 1100 A.H.) as given by **Hassan** in his *Tārīkh-e-Hassan*[7] (Vol III).

**Shāh Sādiq** should not be confused with **Sādiquā-e-Qalandar**, the author of *Dīwān-e-Qalander* which, on close scrutiny, has turned out to be an altogether different work. The pen - name of **Shāh Sādiq** was **Sādiq** and not **Qalandar**, by which name he probably came to be known after becoming a mystic. That is why **Khwaja Azam Diddamari** in his *Tārīkh*[8] calls him **Hāfiz Sādiq Majzoob**; and that surely is the evidence of his own verse[9]:

دست از همه شستیم و قلندر گشتیم اینک دریاب

So, over to his *Kalām*.

—*P. N. Pushp*

2. Op P13; 3. Op P 15; 4. Op P 17; 5. Op P 20; 6. Folio 190 (& App. P 19, I); 7. Folio 256 (& App. P 20, III); 8. Folio 181 (& App, P 19, II.); 9. App. Pp 20 & 22).



آخر عمر در مغلوبیت وفات یافت روز وفات ایشان سلخ ماه ذیقعده سنه ۱۱ھ
مسطور است و مرقد ایشان در موضع قصبهٔ لار بالائے بلندی مشهور۔

O

فی الحال حضرت سرور کائنات صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم پناہ بردم و آنجناب قلندر را زجر فرمودند و گفتند چرا انتظام شریعت ما خراب مے کنی برو درحفظ نبت خود سرگرم باش و بعد ازیں کسے را مزاحمت مرسان موجب آں قلندر راہ خود گرفتہ نالوا بچہ را تصرف برداشت فقط۔

بعد ازاں حضرت شاہ از شہر برآمدہ در موضع وترلار کنج خلوت گرفت و از اہل روزگار متنفر گشت و در ایام شعور ہرگاہ کسے از اہل فضل وکمال پیش او میرفت آنوقت بنگ وچرس استعمال میکرد و اگر کسے از اہل ایں طائفہ پیش او میرسید آندم قرآن میخواند۔

می آمد کہ زنے عقیمہ شیر وبرنج پختہ کردہ ہدیۂ ایشان آورد و بابت اولاد التماس نمود۔ حضرت شاہ بوے دو سیب بخشیدند و بتوجہ ایشاں در عرصۂ دو سال او را دو پسر پیدا شدند۔ ہمچنیں حالات و کرامات ایشاں از حد افزونست طبعے موزوں داشت ابیات تصوفانہ میگفت دیوان اشعارش مملو از سوز و گداز و ایں رعبایات نتیجۂ طبع وقاد اوست۔

رباعی ـــ

یکچند سوارہ سیر دشتے کردیم | یکچند پیادہ پشت پشتے کردیم
دیدیم کہ ایں کوچہ ندارد پایاں | گشتے کردیم و باز گشتے کردیم

○

ہر کہ آمد گل زباغ زندگانی چید و رفت | آورد بہ ہستی ملک جہاں خندید و رفت
از ازل صادق بدنیا میل آمیزش نداشت | چند روزے آمد و یاراں خود را دید و رفت

مستزاد ـــ

یکچند پے زینت و زیور گشتیم ـــ در عہد شباب
یکچند پے دانش و دفتر گشتیم ـــ کردیم حساب
چوں واقف ایں جہاں ابتر گشتیم ـــ نقشے است برآب
دست از ہمہ شستیم و قلندر گشتیم ـــ اینک دریاب

می افتاد و تارک صوم و صلوٰۃ میشد و بعضے مردم خوش اسلوب را بجوز گرویدہ کردہ بریش تراشی مامور می ساخت و در اینہا اثر تصرف ہویدا می شد۔ ولیکن راہ مستقیم میسر اینہا نبود لیکن گاہ گاہے بافاقت آمدہ نماز ہم باتعدیل ارکان میخواند و ترکہ شرب بنگ و شراب ہم میکرد و تلاوت کلام اللہ ہم بترتیب می ساخت روزے شیخ محمد مراد ٹنگ از و پرسید کہ راہ راست کدام است و شاہراہ کدام است۔ گفت شاہراہ راہ محمدیت و راہ راست شریعت شیخ گفت ۔ پس ایشاں چرا براہ دیگر میروند گفت مغلوب میشوم و معذورم اعتقاد الحاح من نخواہید کرد۔ چنانچہ دریں روزہا روح پاک حضرت خواجہ بزرگ قدس سرہ پیدا شدہ۔ مرا فرمود کہ تاچند ایں چنیں باشی موجب آں بافاقت آمدہ ام فقط۔

بدانکہ ایں مقام منزلۃ اقدام طالبان غلو و حدتست بوحدت وجود و نفی افعال از خود کہ آنرا کبریٰ تجلی فعلی نامند۔ دریں وجہ مر بسیاری را ایں حال روئی دادہ ۔ بعضے در حکم معذور بماندند و بعضے بقسر قاسر خلاصی یافتند و قلیلے بالحاد رفتہ ضعیف العقیدہ شدند مردے باشد کہ اجمال ایں راہ بدست آوردہ راہ وحدت کوچۂ تصور فرمودہ بشاہراہ در آید و ایں ہمہ بتوجہ پیر میسر است الا ماشاء اللہ فقط ۔ والسکاریٰ معذورون لایعتبر الاقتداء ولاینبغی للتعظیم برعایۃ ظاہر الشرایعۃ۔ فقط۔

می آرند کہ روزے ناں واپچہ خوشطر از و دلخواہ بیک نگاہ مفتوں ساختہ ہمراہ خود برد مادر او کہ از مریدان حافظ عبداللہ فتحکدلی بود۔ پیش او رفتہ جزع و فزع نمود۔ پس وقتیکہ قلندر از حبہ کدل باز آمدہ نزدیک فتح کدل رسید۔ حافظ عبداللہ سر دروازۂ خود استادہ ماندہ ۔ بطرف قلندر توجہ فرمود قلندر ہم ساعتی در آنجا استادہ ماند۔ آنگاہ قلندر را خود گرفت و نالوا بچہ بہوش آمدہ با مادر خود درخانہ رفت ۔ پس حافظ عبداللہ را کسے از یاران خود حقیقت ایں واقعہ پرسید و فرمود کہ من بجانب قلندر توجہ کردہ بودم وے بجوش آمدہ بنظر جلال در من دید کہ جان من سوختن گرفت

(۱) الفاظ ہم (در فی الاصل) سہو کاتب ؟

آفاق و قدوۃ الاولیا حضرت خواجہ عبیداللہ بحضرت خواجہ جواد خلف عالی شیخنا و وسیلتنا خواجہ عبدالباقی قدس سرہما رسید و شرف ارادت حاصل کرد و جذبہ یافت و مرخص بوطن گردید ۔ در بے پروائی و خوش شکر بر رویش داشد و عالمے را بتصرف ہمرنگ خود کرد گاہے بیہوش ہم مے بود ۔ درآں وقت تقید باحکام شرعی مینمود ۔ اما در اتباعش بلبے قیدی و حالت بے پروائی بحدے سرایت کرد کہ جائے اصلاح نہ ماند ۔ از واردات طبع اوست ؎

یکچندپئے زینت و زیو گشتیم ٭ در عہد شباب
یکچندپئے دانش و دفتر گشتیم ٭ کردیم حساب
چوں واقف ایں ہمہا ابتر گشتیم ٭ نقشے است برآب
دست از ہمہ شستیم و قلندر گشتیم ٭ اینک دریاب

۳ ۔ از تاریخ حسن جلد سیوم

شاہ صادق قلندر رح ۔۔۔ از سادات اندرابی است ۔ عالم و فاضل و کامل بود ۔ کلام قدیم بہفت قرائت از بر داشت ۔ اول در خدمت میر علی قادری صفائی باطن حاصل کردہ ۔ مدتے در خانقاہ ایشان امامت می کرد ۔ روزے در عین نماز صدائے بگوش او رسیدہ در رقت آمدہ نعرہ بر کشید و از بالائے خانقاہ بر زمیں غلطید و از ہماں روز ترک تعلقات کردہ بدہلی رفت و در خدمت با برکت خواجہ عبیداللہ معروف بخواجہ خورد کہ خلف الصدق خواجہ محمد باقی بود استفادہ طریق نقشبندیہ نمود و جذبات و تصرفات و حالات عالیات و خوارق عادات حاصل کردہ بجانب کشمیر رجعت فرمودہ ۔ چوں جناب خواجہ ہم مغلوب توحید بودند در مشارالیہ نیز توحید اثر قوی کردہ اکثر اوقات از راہ مغلوبیت سررشتۂ مطہرہ را از دست میداد و در منہیات

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(۱) ورق ۲۵۶ مصنفہ: پیر غلام حسن کھویہامی (۱۳۰۵ھ)

# ضمیمه

## تذکرهٔ صادق

### ۱- از خوارق السالکین —

شاه صادق قلندر — در بیش عمده و اصلان زبدهٔ کاملان گل گلشن آمیزی حضرت میر علی سلوک ورزیده بخدمت امامت خانقاه ایشان سرفراز بود. در حفظ و قرآن خوانی مثلے نداشت۔ روزے در عین نماز صدائے آواز بگوشش رسیده نعره زده از بالائے خانقاه خود را بر سر راه انگند همان روز ترک تعلقات نموده قلندر شد۔ خود را در قید بے قیدی قرار داد طرف هندوستان تشریف فرمود۔ بعد از طے منازل بصدق دل ارادت کامل در صوبه لاهور پیش مرشدِ ارشد۔ کوئین جام کش بادهٔ عرفان و درد حضرت خواجه خورد انابت آورده مرید شد۔ چندے در خدمت ایشان کسب سعادت نموده۔ گوے از میدان عرفان ربود۔ بعد از حصول مرادات و وصول مقامات سند سلسلهٔ عالیه نقشبندیه حاصل کرده قدم در سیاحت اطراف و اکناف نهاد در لباس قلندری خود را مستور ساخته با مطلوب خویش عشق باخت لیکن ظاهراً تارک نماز و اکل بنگ و شراب بوده۔ ازاں جهت تیر ملامت عالمیاں را هدف گشت۔

### ۲- تاریخ حافظ کشمیر —

حافظ صادق صحیف وب — حافظ قرآن بود۔ خدمت مسجد میر نازک قادری قدس سره داشت۔ اتفاقاً بدهلی رفت و در صحبت بابرکت مخدوم

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(۱) (ورق ۱۹۰ ع) مصنف: احمد ابن البصیر کشمیری (۱۱۰۸ھ)

(۲) (ورق ۱۸۱ ع) مصنف: خواجه محمد اعظم دیده مری (م ۵۹-۱۱۴۸ھ)

عشقہائے عاشقان دردمند — ہر مرض را داروئے داں سودمند
عشقہائے عاشقانِ دیدہ تر — کوہ ہا را میکند زیر و زبر
عشقہائے عاشقانِ اشک ریز — آبروئے ہست روز رستخیز
عشقہائے عاشقانِ بے خبر — مستی است و بیخودی تا پاؤ سر
عشقہائے عاشقانِ روئے زرد — سرد سازد از جہان گرم و سرد
عشقہائے عاشقانِ سرخ روئے — سیر دارد زینجہاں رنگ و بوئے
عشقہائے عاشقانِ روئے دوست — جائے خواہد در میان کوئے دوست
عشقہائے عاشقانِ پر ز درد — می بر آرد از درون بحر گرد
عشقہائے عاشقانِ جاں سپار — بادشہ را میکند چوں خاکسار
عشقہائے عاشقانِ بر ز دوست — مغز باشد مغز نے چوں قشر و پوست
عشقہائے عاشقانِ صابریں — رہ نیابد یار ایں چرخ و زمیں
عشقہائے عاشقانِ صادقیں — پاک باشد پاکی روح الامیں
عشقہائے عاشقانِ با یقیں — قائم است و دائم است تا یوم دیں

با چنگ و دف و بربط — با سوز لبانہ ایدل تنہا زلیست تبو امشب
زیں منزل ما تا آں منزل کہ در رہ باشی — طرفہ عجب راہے دارلیست تبو امشب
از صید ہوا داراں فارغ شدہ اکنوں
ہشدار کہ اے صادق عارلیست تبو امشب

## مثنوی

عشقہائے کز پئے دنیا بود — اہل آں خود آخرالامر رسوا شود

عشقہائے کز برائے زر بود — نیست عشق آں بلکہ دردِ سر بود

عشقہائے کز برائے مال ہست — شرمساری در پیش دنبال ہست

عشقہائے کز برائے زینت است — نیست عشق آں اہل آں ظلمت است

عشقہائے کز لباسِ خوش بود — نیست عشق آں آخرش ناخوش بود

عشقہائے کز برائے خانہ است — نیست عشق آں ننگ و عار خانہ است

عشقہائے کز برائے خوردنست — نیست عشق آں بلکہ خود افسردنست

عشقہائے کز پئے صورت بود — اہل آں خود مرد بد سیرت بود

عشقہائے کز پئے بوئے بود — چوں میان شیر خوش موئے بود

عشقہائے کز پئے اغراض ہست — نیست عشق از یار خود اعراض ہست

عشقہائے عاشقانِ پاک جان — پاک دان و برتر از افلاک دان

عشقہائے عاشقانِ [باہوس] — مشک عنبر دان نہ چوں سرگین [جعل]

عشقہائے عاشقان تن فزانہ — لیلۃ را میکند چوں شاہیانہ

عشقہائے عاشقانِ جان جان — برتر آمد از مکان و لامکان

عشقہائے عاشقان صاف دل — برتر آمد از ہوائے آب و گل

عشقہائے عاشقانِ دل کباب — می نخواہد چنگ و عود و نے رباب

عشقہائے عاشقانِ سینہ چاک — پاک باشد از صفات عیبناک

عشقہائے عاشقانِ پُر نیاز — فارغست از حرص و کبر و کین و آز

عشقہائے عاشقانِ پُر خروش — سینہاشان میزند چوں دیگ جوش

عشقہائے عاشقان سینہ سوز — نیم شب را میکنند چوں نیم روز

عشقہائے عاشقان سینہ ریش — ترک خواہند از اشتہائے جسم خویش

روبرویم بود ماهِ دل فروز  ای عجب امروز روزان روز روز
آفتابی بود چشم سینه سوز  ای عجب امروز روزان روز روز
نیمشب باشد ز رویش نیم روز  ای عجب امروز روز روزان و نیمروز
داغ داغست لاله از هجرش هنوز  ای عجب امروز روزان روز روز
گفت صادق عاشقی سازست او سوز  ای عجب امروز روزان روز روز

○

باز آمد یار ما در کوی ما  باز آمد جان ما هم سوی ما
دست و پایم سست بود از فرقتش  باز آمد قوت بازوی ما
انتظار وقت و ساعت بود و بس  باز آمد دلبر دلجوی ما
مطربان هم گرم و ساقی گرم تر  باز آمد شاهد مه روی ما
هم بهاران بود وقت سیر باغ  باز آمد گلرخ خوشخوی ما
چون بجامم ریخت از ساغر شراب  باز آمد مستی و هوهوی ما
عمر تازه یافتی تو صادقا
چون بیامد خضر آب جوی ما

○

برتابت از نگاه سفید و سیاه و سرخ  خواهم کنم نثار سفید و سیاه و سرخ
ای بابت از نگار سفید و سیاه و سرخ  بر روی کنم نثار سفید و سیاه و سرخ
از بهر نقش و رنگ نگویت نمیروم  کاین چشم مست نیست بسیار سفید و سیاه و سرخ
لبهات لعل دیدم و روی تو آفتاب  در زلف شد پدید سفید و سیاه و سرخ
مشتی سیاه داشت بدندان و پان چو خورد  اینک بخنده گفت سفید و سیاه و سرخ
ناگاه چشم من چو فتاده بسوی مشرق  دیدم بوقت صبح سفید و سیاه و سرخ
آیات سرخ و خط سیاه و رقم سفید  قربان آن کتاب سفید و سیاه و سرخ
صادق ز بهر قافیه دل تنگ گشت چرا است
ابروی دیدهٔ تو سفید و سیاه و سرخ

# غزلیات

نمی پرسی نمی پرسی نمی پرسی ز حال من — عجب کبرے عجب کبرے عجب کبر بسر داری
ربودی دل ربودی دل ربودی دل و دین هم — خیال آن خیال آن خیال آن مگر داری
دلا اکنون دلا اکنون دلا اکنون بیا ئی تو — ره و رسمے ره و رسمے ره و رسمے دگر داری
جگر سوزد جگر سوزد جگر سوزد ز هجر تو — چه از حالم چه از حالم چه از حالم خبر داری
دے خواهی دے خواهی دے خواهی گدایانه — نگاهے نه نگاهے نه نگاهے تیز برداری
مگر امشب مگر امشب مگر امشب نخوابیدی — ز بیداری ز بیداری ز بیداری اثر داری
نیارائے نیارائے نیارائے و رو رفتن — نه دربانے نه دربانے نه دربانے بدر داری
تراز یبد تراز یبد تراز یبد کلاه کج* — قبائے خوش قبائے خوش قبائے خوش ببر داری
نمک دارد نمک دارد نمک دارد کلام تو — لب از قند لب از قند لب از قند و شکر داری

صبا را گو صبا را گو صبا را گو تو اے صادق
بکوے او بکوے او بکوے او گذر داری

○

الحمد لله الحمد لله — گر مے نگفتیم استغفر الله
پیوسته داریم خون بار دیده — رو سرخ گشتیم در پیش دل خواه
تاریکی ما را ست در سینه پنهاں — عالم بسوزیم از سوز یک آه
چوں شمع داریم سر زیر تیغت — مے بر که کردیم روشن تراز ماه

هرگز نپوئید جز راه رندی
صادق که دل دانست دانا و آگاه

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* [دهاں مخفی دهاں مخفی دهاں مخفی تراز نقطه — تنک موئے تنک موئے تنک موئے کمر داری]
(مطابق نسخهٔ خطی دیوان صادق که نزد جناب قیصر قلندر میباشد)

من ز دست تو صنم دست بدست میزنم
موئے ز سر همیکنم بار نهی بگردنم
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

خون جگر بجوش شد عقل و دلم ز هوش شد
ناطقه ام خموش شد سامعه ام ز گوش شد
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

یا همه راز گفته این همه تو نهفته ! !
یا دگراں شگفته هیچ بمن نگفته ! !
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

دم نزدیم یکنفس خام بماند [همه هوس]
هیچ نماند دست رس [آگاه شدیم همچو خس]
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

ز اول شب تا بروز [چیست بدل غیر سوز]
میکشیم روز روز نیست قرارت هنوز
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

من بکجا وطن کجا روح کجا و تن کجا
سبزه کجا چمن کجا گل بکجا دمن کجا
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

لحظه بلحظه دمبدم آتش دل فروزم
وز غم خویش سوزیم اینست نصیب روزم
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

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# مثلّث

جیب و جگر دریده شد دست نسوده بدامنت
دامن دل بریده شد نیست خیال بامنت
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

مہر و وفا ندیده ام جور و جفات دیده ام
محنت و غم کشیده ام درد و الم چشیده ام
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

رشتهٔ من بریدهٔ یار دگر گزیدهٔ
بندهٔ نو خریدهٔ عیب مرا چه دیدهٔ
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

مہ رُخ خود نمودهٔ صبر و دلم ربودهٔ
حرف کسے شنودهٔ باب ستم کشودهٔ
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

دست بتو نمیرسد موئے شدست این جسد
در طلبت ز محنت دکه طعنه زنند نیک و بد
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

صبر و قرار بردهٔ جان و دلم فسردهٔ
خون جگر بخوردهٔ تن ببلا سپردهٔ
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

شب همه شب نخفته ام روز نه راز گفته ام
از همه آتش نهفته ام دُرِّ عجیب سفته ام
دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنت

پیداست ز تو ازیں جدائی — بے رحم دلی و بے وفائی
سوزد جگرم [ز درد ہجرت] — [اے] کاش نبودے آشنائی
رہ دور و دراز و پائے لنگست — از لطف مگر تو خود بیائی
عمریست کہ اشتیاق دارم — رو پوش ز من بگو چرائی
دانی کہ دلم ز رشک سوزد — با غیر رخت چو وا نمائی
باشد کہ ز دست نفس و مکرش — یک لحظہ بمن شود رہائی
از ہیچ کسے بکار ناید — کارے کہ بکرد و بد ہوائی
آفات جہاں بلائے عالم — می خیزد ازیں منی و مائی
گفتا چو ز نفس خود گذشتی — آزاد بزی کہ رستہ مائی

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نہادم

نے قال خوش آیدم نہ حالے — کز ہر دو بزایدم ملالے
سالے کہ گذشت یا تو روزیست — بے روئے تو روز گشت سالے
گر دیدہ نگہ کند بسوئے — جز روت نباشدش خیالے
کس را کہ نمود قوس ابروت — گوید کہ بدیدہ ام ہلالے
از بہر دو دام زلف دانہ — افتاد برخ عجیب خالے
ہر کس کہ بدید سرو قدت — دیدست ز باغ جاں نہالے
کس خواست ہمیں جہاں کسے آں — دارند چو ہر یکے مآلے
ایام شہور و چند سالے — گشتیم ز حال تا بحالے
اکنوں دل [من] رسید جائے — کانجا نہ حروف قیل و قالے

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نہادم

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کس نیست بیوم عذ چو ماہر — امروز چہ صاف و پاک و طاہر
دانی کہ بباطنم چہ سوز است — حال دل من شود چو ظاہر
اے دل اگرت ہوائے جانست — آگاہ ہمیشہ باش و حاضر
چشم دل عاشقان صادق — کے بود و بود بہ عین ناظر
صد چہ کہ ہزار بار دیدم — کز خویش گذشتن است آخر
گفتی کہ ز طبع خود بروں آئے — تا چند بہ بند شعر و شاعر

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکاں قدم نہادم

تا چند فراق من بخواہی — در دیدہ سپید شد سیاہی
ہر سر کہ فتد بر آستانت — کے میل کند بتاج شاہی
پیوستہ بہ صادق است احسان — با فضل و عنایت الٰہی
ہموارہ بود کسے کہ بشناخت — منقاد او امر و نواہی
آں را کہ کشید سر ز فرمانت — در بحر جہاز شد بناہی
میباش ز بند طبع آزاد — میخواہ دگر تو ہر چہ خواہی
گفتی کہ چو از ہوا گذشتی — محکوم تو گشت مرغ و ماہی

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکاں قدم نہادم

## ترجیع بند ثانی

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم

با یار دلم وصال دارد — از هر دو جہاں ملال دارد
دل رفت وگذشت ضعف تن را — نے فکر مآل و حال دارد
افلاک و زمین آنچہ درفے — خوابے است خود خیال دارد
تمثیل جہول حامل یار — یک ذره بسر خیال دارد
اندیشۂ کس بدرک کنہش — فکریست کہ در محال دارد
عاشق کہ کنی تو قصد خونش — خوں ریزئ تو حلال دارد
ہر کس کہ بدید روئے خوبت — کے فکر عروس و زال دارد

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم

دانم کہ شوم ز ضعف مرحوم — گشتم چو ز جہل خویش مظلوم
چوں حال درون خود بجستم — دیدم کہ شکست نفس مذموم
با فکر تامل و تدبر — آفات خودی چو گشت معلوم
یکحرف الف ز قامت تو — بر لوح دلست ہمیشہ مرقوم
امروز کہ زار و ناتوانم — فردا نشوم ز ضعف مرحوم
حالات لبسے ز خود بدیدم — پروانہ گہے بدم گہے موم
از فضل و عنایت الٰہی — رستم ز رجوع و عودِ مشوم
شرط ہمہ رہ روان عالم — از خود شد نیست ہیچ و معدوم
نقش دو جہاں چو نیک دیدم — دیدم کہ بدم بہ بند موہوم

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم

اکنوں دل من چو جام خواهد — کے ننگ و نشان و نام خواهد

دستار و کلاه رهن کرده — از بهر شراب وام خواهد

از اهل جهاں چناں ست وحشی — نے خاصِ زماں نہ عام خواهد

گشت [است] زبیت و خانه مهجور — نے صحن سرائے و بام خواهد

آں دل کہ ز سوزِ عشق بریاں ست — نے پختہ زکس نہ خام خواهد

دین و دل و جان چو عرض کردم — تا یار ازاں کدام خواهد

گفتا چو پدید حال صادق — منت اشتر زمام خواهد

با جام دو دو جام نیست قانع — میهائے سحور و شام خواهد

از زهد ریا کنوں گذشتم

تا رفته بپائے خم بیفتم

ایّام بهار و باده و جام — میخوره تو کنوں کرو بیدا انجام

نومید مشو ز صبح مقصود — تا وقت سحر چه زاید ایں شام

جان دو جهاں چو عرض کردند — نفگند نظر به پخته و خام

بے رونق دلم چو بید لرزاں ست — آیا بود آنکه گیرد آرام

ایمن کہ بود ز مکر دوراں — دانش کہ خورد کہ نیست در دام

گفتا کہ امیں تو زود بگذار — تدبیر امور و هم سرانجام

از دست مده تو ساغر اصلا — در صحن و سرائے و صفه و بام

از زهد ریا کنوں گذشتم

تا رفته بپائے خم بیفتم

رأی بنجوم نمای ایدوست — کز هجر لبت دیده چون جوست

در ضعف قوی و ناتوانی — گیری اگرم تو دست نیکوست

دائم کردهی مراد آخر — دل را که ز هر جهت تو روست

پیچان است ز رشک ناف آهو — کاین زلف دراز توچه خوشبوست

گه گاه بسوی گرفتمه رانم — زین پیش دل من بیکم بیکسوست

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خم بیفتم

حقت که هزار خیل دارد — هر کس که بدید میل دارد

دارد سر گل هزار بلبل — تا گل یکدام [illegible] میل دارد

آنکس که ندید رویت اعزیز — فردا دو هزار ویل دارد

خورشید رخت که کس نه بیند — با این نهار لیل دارد

آن را که نظر فتد بجاهت — کز چشم سوی سهیل دارد

محتاج سخاوی [illegible] کو — کو آنکه گهر [illegible] ذیل دارد

هر کس که بدید اشک من گفت — دو چشم مگر دو [illegible] دارد

گویند نظارگان کجستش — حسن دو جهان [illegible] دارد

یک چند دلم آب پرداخت — زین دل اشتاب [illegible] دارد

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خم بیفتم

یا آنکه ز من بهوش بودیت — یا جان بستان درون کویت
از بهر نظارگان بیدل — لشکر چه کشی بس است رویت
تا در بدنم رمق ز جان است — پهلو انگشتم نیست دجویت
بر تربت اگر گذر کنی جان — خیزد به خفتگان ز بویت
هرگز نکند نگاه میلی — چشمی که نظر کند بسویت
خورشید ز نور تست روشن — شبها که سیه شدست ز مویت
عمری که به خانقاه بسر شد — در فکری چو ندیده دیده رویت

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خُم بیفتم

ای دوست بیا که ناتوانم — چون پیش بدم نه آنچنانم
از حال دلم ترا خبر نیست — کی بود تو چنین گمانم
بعد تو اگر به بینم ای دوست — کوی تو بود به از جنانم
گر هیچ نمیرسد بآخر — با یاد وصالت شادمانم
گر چه که تو عهد خود شکستی — بر آنچه بدم کنون برانم
گوئی که دگر شدی تو صادق — دیگر تو شدی و من همانم
یک لحظه نیم برون ز امرت — کاری که تو گفتهٔ در آنم
هرگه که نهی تو خیمه در دل — کو تا به من و کجا نشانم
گفتی چه مرا نشش جلوه — تا چند چنین و چه چنانم

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خُم بیفتم

از غم که طلب کنی رہائی ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ در هجر دیده تو آشنائی
از جوش همی زند تریاتر ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ آتش به جگر ازین جدائی
روشن شود از رخ تو عالم ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ ماها چه شود اگر بر آئی
سعی بکن و ز خود برون آی ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ تا چند ز تو منی و مائی
چون الطف بگو گفت صادق ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ من زان توام تو خود زمائی
کاری که کنی برای ما کن ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ با غیر منت چرا نمائی

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتیم
تا رفته بپائے خم بیفتیم

جانا بخورم بپات سوگند ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ کاین زلف دراز تست دلبند
عمریست بهجر مبتلایم ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ این جور و جفا بگو که تا چند
چون تو بجهان کسی ندیدم ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ گشتیم به ملک ملک بسی چند
دل گشت ز قید عالم آزاد ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ زانگه که شدم به عشق پابند
جان را همه قرار و آرام ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ رحمی بکن و چنیش میسند
یک جرعه می ز جام زرین ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ خوردیم و شدیم مست و خورسند

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتیم
تا رفتم بپائے خم بیفتیم

جان رفته پی تو و جنان هم ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ نامحرم شد و پیش بتان هم
فکر دو جهان که نیست ما را ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ از عهد گذشتیم و زمان هم
کس نیک بگوید و کسی بد ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ فی الذات چنین نیم چنان هم
چون گوی توام شد است خاطی ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ فردوس برین چه و جنان هم
با هیچ نمیشود دل آرام ‌ ‌ ‌ ‌ گلزار بدیدم و خزان هم

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتیم
تا رفته بپائے خم بیفتیم

تا چند مرا تو در بند داری   در دوریِ من سرِ عهد داری
سویم نکنی گہے نگاہے   در حق کساں وفور داری
روشن کہ شود ز تو شبِ تار   گویا کہ چنیں تو نور داری
من گشتہ و زار وصل خواہاں   از من تو چرا نفور داری
در مہرِ تو خود کمال دارم   از عشق من ار قصور داری
ایام بہ غنیمتم لبے شد   یار شدہ کہ شبے حضور داری
با ایں ہمہ چند ہا کردم   گفتی بہ عمل غرور داری

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خم بیفتم

ایام شباب نہ عہد شیب است   گر بادہ خورم کنوں چہ عیب است
جاں دادم و دین و دل ربودی   در عشق منت دگر چہ ریب است
رازِ دل من برت ہویدا است   شاید کہ حضورت علم غیب است
خواہم کہ ز زہد سر برآرم   سر را کہ نگہ کنم بجیب است
در انجامِ عمل کہ گشت آگاہ   اسرار لبے نہان و غیب است

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خم بیفتم

آواز برآمد از وجودم   پندار بدم دگر نبودم
شوخانِ جہاں لبے بدیدم   یک غمزۂ شوخ تو ربودم
از راہ دو عالمے ہیچ گاہی   از بہرِ دلت نکردہ بودم
نقشے چو نکردہ ہیچ سر را   ہر چند بسجدہ گاہ سودم
توبہ نکنم دگر ز مے ہیچ   صد بار چو خویش آزمودم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خم بیفتم

جانا شود دم گره کشائی — دیدار خود از بمن نمائی
صد جان بکنم نثار و افشان — روزی که مرا ز من ربائی
عمریست بتو که آشنایم — بیگانه چنین ز من چرائی
در خانه نگنجم از مسرت — از در تو اگر گهی درآئی
از پای بکوبم آسمان را — بر بام من ار یکی برآئی
گرچه که گدای کوچه گردم — چشمم نبود به پادشائی
در کوی تو به شاهی و وزیری — هیچم نبود به از گدائی
در هجر ضعیف و زرد گشتم — تا کی تو مرا بیا زمائی
از حد بگذشت گریه هایم — تا چند بنالم از جدائی
سعی و عملم بکار نامد — از لطف کنون مگر خود آئی
سالوس و دغل بسا که بودم — قلبم چو بیافت زور دائی

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خم بیفتم

خیزیم اگر بجست و جویت — افتیم اگر بپای کویت
مردم که بماه نو ببینند — بینیم اگر بماه رویت
آن زلف کمند تو دلم را — آورده کشان کشان بسویت
حاجت نبود به تیر و شمشیر — صد فوج سر افگند ز بویت
گر هر دو جهان به رشوه بدهند — گردن ندهم نگه بمویت
گفتی تو که جمله داری اما — از زهد ریا نرفته بویت
گرچه که بصومعه نشستی — یکخنده مده تو شست و شویت

از زهد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفته بپای خم بیفتم

خوردیم قدح ز میفروشے — عیار وشے تمام ہوشے

یکجرعه بریخت بکام وزانگه — جوشیست مرا چگونه جوشے

تنہا نه منم اسیر زلفش — دارند جہانیاں خروشے

در ہر دو جہاں نظیر یارم — نشنیده ندیده چشم و گوشے

خاک ره او چرا نگردم — بے محنت نیش داده نوشے

از جرم و خطا چه باک دارم — غفار ذنوب و عیب پوشے

صلوق بلبلب ز فیض جودش — مستی مدام و جام و نوشے

آگاه شدم ز نفس و مکرش — دیدیم چو مکر خرقه پوشے

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفته بپلے خم بیفتم

چوں تو بزمانه یار دارم — در عین خزاں بہار دارم

خود کار مرا بخود گرفتی — من با دگرے چه کار دارم

زانگه که شدم گدائے کویت — از شاه و وزیر عار دارم

تا وصل نمیشود میسّر — دیده بخیال چار دارم

چوں زلف سیاه دام داری — مرغ دل خود شکار دارم

از کثرت آه آه گشتم — ہر شب بفلک مطار دارم

بیکس منم و غریب ہستم — درد و غم تو دو یار دارم

دارو چه کنم شدست درماں — دردے که ندیم و یار دارم

تا چند بگویم از فراقت — سوراخ جگر چو غار دارم

یکچند بدم بزرق وطامات — حالا خود ازاں غبار دارم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفته بپلے خم بیفتم

اے سروِ رواں چرا ننالم　　قدِ الفے بگشتہ دالم
ہرچند نیاز و عجز دیدی　　رحمے ز تو خود ندیدہ حالم
ہرگاہ بخود نگاہ کردم　　بیروں تو نبودی از خیالم
یکچند بصومعہ نشستم　　زانہا نکشودہ پر و بالم
تقوٰی و ریاضتے کہ کردم　　بوئے چو نیامد از وصالم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم

دیدار ترا بہا گران است　　در تیغ تہ بلکے ز نیم جانست
چوں گل بچمن ندیدہ بلبل　　نالانست ز شوق و در فغانست
نقطۂ دہنت عجیب سریست　　اسرار خدا لبے نہانست
گلشن ز فراق تست گلخن　　دوزخ بوصال تو جنانست
درچند بجا وفا نکردی　　در عشق تو عزم من بر آنست
گرچہ کہ ز زہد پیر گشتم　　لیکن بشوق دل جوانست
خونہائے جگر بسے بخوردم　　کارم چو ہنوز در میانست

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم

تا حلقۂ زلف تو بدیدم　　ز تار خودی ز خود بریدم
گویا بتدم بشوق کفرے　　آخر کہ بکوئے تو رسیدم
بس خار بخوردم از رقیباں　　از باغ تو خود گلے نچیدم
ترسم کہ گسے ز راز نہاں　　آگہ شود و کند پدیدم
رفتہ ز دلم ہزار خلوت　　یکبار کہ جرعہ ات چشیدم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم

# کلامِ صادق

## ترجیع بند اول —

از زہد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم

چشمے کہ خیالِ تست دروے — کونین ندیدہ غیرِ لاشی
صد کشتۂ چشمِ تو بخیزد — لبہات زند چو بانگِ لاحی
آوازِ جرس بسے شنیدند — نے بردہ کسے بمنزلت پے
تنگیِ جہاں چو دل بگیرد — مستیِ مدام خواہم از وے
حقا کہ کسے طلب ندارم — غیرِ رطلِ گران و جامِ پُرمے

از زہد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم

ایامِ فراقِ تو بدیدم — شبہائے وصالِ تو شنیدم
سرہا چو قدم نمودہ گشتم — تا آنکہ بکوئے تو رسیدم
تا سوئے ترا نگاہ کردم — احوالِ عجیب شد پدیدم
از دستِ رقیبِ دیو سیرت — کفہائے دو دستِ خود گزیدم
خورشید و مہ زمانہ دادم — مہرِ رخِ تو کہ من خریدم
از مکرِ زمانہ باز رستم — در عشقِ تو تا جگر دریدم
یکچند بجہد ہم بسر شد — در فے سر و برگِ خود ندیدم

از زہد ریا کنون گذشتم
تا رفتہ بپائے خُم بیفتم



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